Lincoln Steffens' Autobiography *Andrew M. Greeley*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts – November 6, 1971, 50 cents

RITTER
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

Negotiations

"Major responsibility for the impasse at Paris lies with the Nixon administration"

George McT. Kahin

Favorite Sons in '72 –*Ken Bode*

How to Play Monopoly –*Peter Barnes*

Jesus Crisis –*Stanley Kauffmann*

Court Appointments –*The Editors*

NR BLO7 C009 1 1071
BALDWN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OH10 44017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For 5 bucks you can shake up yourself, and maybe even the government.

The Washington Monthly

"If you find the son of a bitch responsible for leaking that letter, I want you to fire him."

"If you find the son of a bitch responsible for not letting Hickel see the President, I want you to fire him."

The country is numb. Political activity is at a low ebb. In Pogo's words, "We have met the enemy, and they are us."

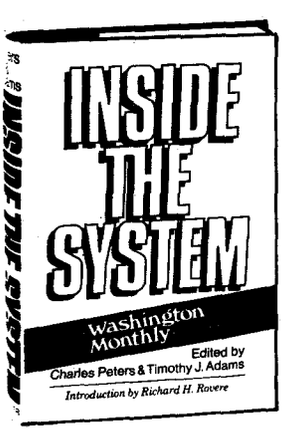
The Washington Monthly is for people who want to shake themselves up—who want to join in an uncompromising examination of what is right and wrong with our political system and with ourselves.

The Washington Monthly is the most admired*, most closely followed, most influential new magazine in Washington. (It may be the most feared, too. Ask the the Pentagon bureaucrats first exposed in Christopher Pyle's "The Army Watches Civilian Politics.")

Contributors like Russell Baker, Peter Lisagor, Seymour Hersh, Allard Lowenstein, and Murray Kempton accompany Washington Monthly regulars Taylor Branch, Suzannah Lessard, and John Rothchild—the youngest, freshest, most original group of political thinker-writers around. Never heard of them? You will.

*"Off to a brilliant start," says John Gardner. "The best thing of its kind in American life today," says Richard Rovere. "A hell of a good magazine," says Theodore H. White. "Respected," "enterprising," "impressive," say The New York Times, Newsweek, and Saturday Review.

And it's all yours, plus a saving of $5.50, if you act now. You get seven months of The Washington Monthly (a $7 newsstand value) and a chance to catch up on the best articles you've missed with a free copy of Inside the System (the $3.50 Praeger edition). A $10.50 value for only $5!



The Washington Monthly
1150 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Please enter a seven-month subscription for me and, upon payment, send my free copy of Inside the System (a $10.50 value) for only $5.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐Payment enclosed ☐Bill me

nr-11

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Literary Guild is all the books you want to read.

GAY TALESE
HONOR THY FATHER
Intimacy Sensitivity Sex and the Art of Love
In the Shadow of Man
"DO YOU SINCERELY WANT TO BE RICH?"
THEY CALL IT A GAME
Bernie Parrish
AMERICA, INC.
CONTEMPORARY WORLD ATLAS
Capone
SYLVIA PLATH THE BELL JAR
Julia Child VOLUME TWO Mastering the Art of French Cooking Simone Beck
Victoria Holt The Shadow of the Lynx
PENMARRIC Susan Howatch
Daphne du Maurier Don't Look Now
THE EXORCIST WILLIAM PETER BLATTY
Future Shock by Alvin Toffler
KENNEDY JUSTICE by Victor S. Navasky
MADAME
THEIRS WAS THE KINGDOM R. F. Delderfield
Wheels
ARTHUR HAILEY Airport
Summer of the Red Wolf
Morris L. West
THE EXPEDITIONS THOR HEYERDAHL
QB VII LEON URIS
Night of the White Bear
The Gift Horse Hildegard Knef
CIVILISATION KENNETH CLARK
On Instructions of My Government A NOVEL BY PIERRE SALINGER
K.B. GILDEN Between the Hills and the Sea
THE PASSIONS OF THE MIND IRVING STONE

It's all here. A selection as varied as the world around you. From the latest best sellers to an in-depth study of Civilisation. From a behind-the-scenes look at who really controls the nation's economy to the newest Irving Stone. The Literary Guild gives you books that take you wherever you want to go.

And we save you money while we're doing it. Guild books are offered at an average of at least 30% below the prices of publishers' editions, plus a small charge for shipping and handling. Join today. The world doesn't wait. Neither should you.

Join now. Any 4 for $1.

You merely agree to buy four other books during the coming year.

3467. **HONOR THY FATHER** Gay Talese. (Pub. edition, $10.00)

1446. **THE EXORCIST** William Peter Blatty. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

1594. **THE GIFT HORSE** Hildegard Knef. (Pub. edition, $7.95)

1206. **CAPONE** John Kobler. (Pub. edition, $8.95)

2824. **"DO YOU SINCERELY WANT TO BE RICH?"** Godfrey Hodgson, Bruce Page and Charles Raw. (Pub. edition, $8.95)

4093. **MADAME** Patrick O'Higgins. (Pub. edition, $7.95)

1222. **THE RA EXPEDITIONS** Thor Heyerdahl. (Pub. edition, $10.00)

3087. **THE PASSIONS OF THE MIND** Irving Stone. (Pub. edition, $10.00)

3335. **CIVILISATION** Kenneth Clark. (Pub. edition, $15.00)

2089. **THE SHADOW OF THE LYNX** Victoria Holt. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

3046. **WHEELS** Arthur Hailey. (Pub. edition, $7.95)

3681. **ON INSTRUCTIONS OF MY GOVERNMENT** Pierre Salinger. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

0778. **AMERICA, INC.** Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen. (Pub. edition, $10.00)

0307. **NIGHT OF THE WHITE BEAR** Alexander Knox. (Pub. edition, $5.95)

3293. **INTIMACY** Gina Allen and Clement G. Martin, M.D. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

3269. **KENNEDY JUSTICE** Victor Navasky. (Pub. edition, $10.00)

0539. **ADDIE PRAY** Joe David Brown. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

0455. **THE BELL JAR** Sylvia Plath. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

1974. **THEY CALL IT A GAME** Bernie Parrish. (Pub. edition, $7.95)

2048. **SUMMER OF THE RED WOLF** Morris L. West. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

2709. **BETWEEN THE HILLS AND THE SEA** K. B. Gilden. (Pub. edition, $7.95)

0497. **PENMARRIC** Susan Howatch. (Pub. edition, $8.95)

2196. **QB VII** Leon Uris. (Pub. edition, $7.95)

2402. **F. Scott Fitzgerald: TENDER IS THE NIGHT, THIS SIDE OF PARADISE, THE GREAT GATSBY, THE LAST TYCOON** 4 vols. count as 1 choice. (Pub. editions, $16.35)

3228. **DON'T LOOK NOW** Daphne Du Maurier. (Pub. edition, $6.95)

0612. **IN THE SHADOW OF MAN** Jane Goodall. (Pub. edition, $10.00)

3558. **FUTURE SHOCK** Alvin Toffler. (Pub. edition, $8.95)

0554. **John Steinbeck: THE GRAPES OF WRATH, THE WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT, THE SHORT NOVELS** 3 vols. count as 1 choice (Pub. editions, $18.50)

7914. **VOLUME TWO: MASTERING THE ART OF FRENCH COOKING** Julia Child & Simone Beck. (Pub. edition, $12.50)

0182. **THE GREAT NOVELS OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY** The Sun Also Rises, For Whom the Bell Tolls, A Farewell to Arms. 3 vols. count as 1 choice (Pub. editions. $13.95)

1586. **THEIRS WAS THE KINGDOM** R. F. Delderfield. (Pub. edition, $8.95)

0505. **BEAR ISLAND** Alistair MacLean. (Pub. edition, $5.95)

0026. **HAMMOND CONTEMPORARY WORLD ATLAS** (Pub. edition, $12.50)

The Guild offers its own complete, hardbound editions, sometimes altered slightly in size to fit special presses and save members even more.

Literary Guild of America, Inc.
Dept. 1N-NRX, Garden City, N.Y. 11530

Please accept my application for a trial membership in the Literary Guild and send me the FOUR books or sets whose numbers I have printed in the four boxes below. Bill me only $1 plus shipping and handling for all four. If not delighted, I may return them in 10 days and this membership will be canceled.

I do not have to buy a book every month—only as few as four the first year—and may resign any time after purchasing four books. All selections and alternates will be described to me in advance in the Literary Guild magazine sent free each month. If I wish the monthly selection, I need do nothing; it will come to me automatically. Whenever I prefer an alternate, or no book at all, I simply give instructions on the convenient order form. The prices of the books offered will average 30% below the prices of publishers' editions. (A modest charge is added for shipping and handling.) For each monthly or alternate selection I accept, I may choose a bonus book from the special catalog at a fraction of the already low Guild price—often for as little as $1.

Mr.
Mrs
Miss (Please Print)

Address

City

State Zip

Members accepted in U.S.A. and Canada only. Canadian members will be serviced from Toronto. Offer slightly different in Canada.

50-G908

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Philip Roth

A satiric vision of life at the top of the political heap

"Brilliant satire in the real Swift tradition, very funny, and about as acerbic as you can get." —ANTHONY BURGESS

"A paradigm of unparalleled portentous perception. Make no mistake, Roth has Nixon down pat." —JULES FEIFFER

"Between the fantastic mimicry and the twinkletoes organization . . . there's enough gold in *Our Gang* to admit Roth to the Swift-Orwell Exchange." —RICHARD STERN, author of *Golk*

"With *Our Gang*, Tricky Dixon joins *Macbird* in the pantheon of political rascaldom, signifying that if successive administrations remain hopeless about solving America's problems, they can at least provide a basis for relief through ridicule. With this book, Philip Roth catapults himself into the front rank of American political satirists."
—ROBERT BRUSTEIN

"Roth's book is not simply a satire on the Nixon administration but a commentary on the debasement of language, political language in particular. It is a protest, written in a spirit of angry abandon, against the sheer meaninglessness of what passes for political speech, whether coming from the White House, Congress, TV, the press, or the pulpit. The sheer abundance, the inescapability, of this meaningless verbiage distinguishes it from the routine political lying of the past; *Our Gang* is the first full-scale account of what might be called verbal pollution." —CHRISTOPHER LASCH, author of *The Agony of the American Left*

Our Gang

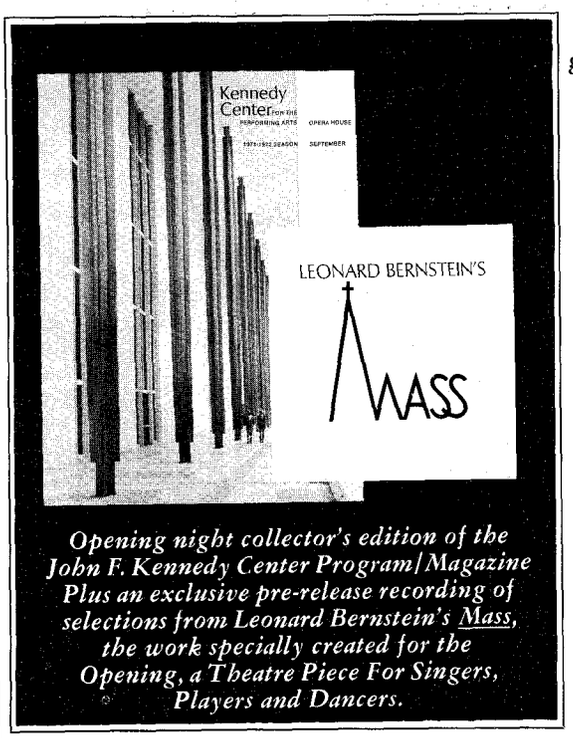
$5.95, NOW AT YOUR BOOKSTORE **RANDOM HOUSE**

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage at Washington, D.C. and a additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Rare And Unusual Gift:

The sights and sounds of Opening Night at the John F. Kennedy Center



Opening night collector's edition of the John F. Kennedy Center Program/Magazine Plus an exclusive pre-release recording of selections from Leonard Bernstein's Mass, the work specially created for the Opening, a Theatre Piece For Singers, Players and Dancers.

On September 8, 1971, world leaders in government and the art gathered in Washington, D.C. for the opening of the John F. Ken Center for the Performing Arts, and the premier performance o work commissioned for the occasion: Leonard Bernstein's *Mass*.

Because of the world-wide interest in the new cultural center and in Mr. Bernstein's new *Mass*, *Saturday Review*, publishers of the Program/Magazine for the Kennedy Center, is making available a limited supply of the first night's edition of the program—a genuine collector's item—and, by special arrangement, an exclusive 7″ stereo recording of selected samples from *Mass* produced by Columbia Records exclusively for this offer. The complete recording will not be available until later this year.

It's a rare collectors' item and an unique, once-in-a-lifetime gift that will grow in value.

The Program/Magazine itself is 144 pages of contemporary history in full color and black and white including: The background of the Center; Letters from Presidents Nixon and Kennedy; Full-color photographs of the Kennedy Center, inside and out; Notes and comments on Bernstein's major new work; A list of distinguished patrons and founding artists; plus features on John Kennedy and the arts; A report on leading art institutions in Washington; and more.

For visitors to the Center, the Program/Magazine has a practical side. In it you'll find architectural plans for all three theaters, seating plans, ticket information, restaurants within the Center, and parking information.

There will be no sale of the Inaugural Program or the exclusive pre-release recording except under the auspices of the Kennedy Center and Saturday Review Programs. Only a limited number of copies have been printed. The plates have been destroyed. When the limited supply is gone, there will be no more produced. Judging from the scarcity of opening night Program/Magazines for New York's Lincoln Center, these rare collector's items will almost certainly increase in value with each passing year.

Orders will be filled on a first come basis. To insure Christmas delivery, we must hear from you by December 1st. So send your order today for the Program/Magazine and recording simply by completing and mailing coupon with your check or money order. Or if you so indicate you will be billed. Please do not send cash.

If you wish to send more than one gift, just write the additional names on a separate piece of paper. Special gift cards will announce your gift.

The price for the Opening Night Program/Magazine and recording is only $6.95. If you would like the Program/Magazine in a deluxe hard cover edition, the price is $8.95.

Proceeds Will Be Shared With The Kennedy Center.

NR11

To: Saturday Review Programs
380 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017

As indicated below, please send the John F. Kennedy Center Opening Night Program/Magazine plus the exclusive pre-release recording of selections from *Mass*.

For_____copies of regular edition and record at $6.95 each.
For_____copies of deluxe hard cover edition and record at $8.95 each.
Add 50¢ shipping charges for each order of regular edition;
$1.00 each for deluxe edition.
If you are a resident of New York State, add local and state sales tax.
☐ Enclosed is my check or money order ☐ Please bill me

Send gift to: _____
(name)
_____
(address)
_____
(city, state & zip)

Donor is: _____
(your name)
_____
(your address)
_____
(city, state & zip)

Gift Card to Read. "From_____"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

Vending-Machine Justice

If the Senate confirms William Rehnquist and he serves as long as the late Justice Black he will be sitting on the Supreme Court in AD 2005. He will be 79 years old. This will be no great shakes for a justice; five of the "nine old men" who confronted Franklin Roosevelt in 1933, for example, were septuagenarians.

As Justice, Mr. Rehnquist will not be subject to removal through the political process save by impeachment, which has never been used. He will, presumably, be handing down the conservative opinions of an Arizona Goldwater Republican in line with his views as spokesman for Attorney General John Mitchell. In the latter role he has sometimes seemed to out-Mitchell Mitchell.

It will be seen that a heavy responsibility falls on the Senate, which begins confirmation hearings on the two new Nixon appointees in a week or so. Mr. Nixon's strange circus performance in winnowing down his original list of half a dozen improbables to two, then seeing the first two finalists vetoed by the American Bar Association judicial committee, and then unexpectedly picking Messrs. Powell and Rehnquist, brought universal gasps of applause. Like the death-defying tightrope act over Niagara, the applause was bought at the cost of spectator agony and was more a reflex of relief than a celebration of the men finally picked. Now these two are under close scrutiny. Since Lewis Powell seems more moderate in his conservatism than Rehnquist, and is 64 instead of 47, most Senate attention will probably be on the latter.

A myth about the Constitution is that it is like a kind of vending machine, artfully constructed by the Founding Fathers, where judges simply insert their coin and the bottle of Coke automatically pops out. Many simple-minded people think that if judges would just be "strict constructionists" everything would be as easy as that.

Well, there are some 600 men and women prisoners now in jail under sentence of death, waiting their fate from the Supreme Court. There has been no execution in the states for some years. It is up to the new Court to decide in pending cases whether the constitutional ban on "cruel and unusual punishment" includes death. Here is a specific case for the Court to apply the Constitution's magnificent generalities to modern instances, and to keep the document continuous and flexible. Being a "strict constructionist" is no help; the term is meaningless; it means whatever a particular speaker wants it to mean. The Court uses the Constitution and precedents as a springboard but then relies on its conscience and humanity. Its function is political, in the highest sense, as well as adjudicatory.

Or take another instance. It is March, 1937; you are sitting in the marble-colonnaded Supreme Court, the place is crowded, the presence of wives of justices tells you something unusual is ahead. The emotional expectancy is as great as before a modern moon blast-off. There is absolute silence one minute before the usher cries "Oyez, Oyez, Oyez."

You see, Franklin Roosevelt is President, elected by a tremendous majority in 1932, and now for four years not one of the mostly hostile, elderly judges has retired. They are trying to wait him out. Last year (June, 1936) the Court, 5 to 4, threw out minimum wages. But in November, 1936 in a new election FDR carried everything but Maine and Vermont. Now it is five months later. The Olympian-whiskered Chief Justice Hughes begins reading an opinion. A sigh goes through the big marble temple. Again it is a 5 to 4 decision, but this time the opinion has been turned around. Justice Roberts has switched position: "Our conclusion is that the case of *Akins v Childrens Hospital*, supra, should be, and it is, overruled," says the Jovian Chief Justice. What was unconstitutional last year is constitutional now. (And, incidentally, FDR named five new justices after that in his second term, and three the next.)

Another myth about the Constitution is that the Senate ought to confirm a nominee unless it finds him either lacking in integrity or basically incompetent. "I thoroughly disagree," says Senator Javits to this idea. The Court, Javits holds, is an independent, coordinate branch of government. The 1787 Constitutional Convention originally proposed that judges be appointed by the Senate, with no role for the President at all. This was compromised – the President appointed, the Senate confirmed with coequal powers. At times, he said, this power has atrophied, but the right is there and should be used.

In his nationally televised speech Mr. Nixon stressed that he had picked the two on ideological grounds ("individuals who share my . . . conservative philosophy") with emphasis on law and order. Mr. Nixon has repeatedly argued that courts have handcuffed the police and that crime is the result of judicial leniency. Mr. Rehnquist seems an apostle of this creed. He has been a spokesman for wiretapping, sweep arrests of political protestors, surveillance of citizens and retreats on civil rights. In a letter to *The Washington Post*, February 14, 1970, in behalf of the unhappy Carswell nomination he warned that "further expansion of constitutional recognition of civil rights . . . logically brings in train . . . further expansion of the constitutional right of criminal defendants, of pornographers and of demonstrators."

Are not these the arguments not merely of a conservative but of a zealot? Mr. Rehnquist, in all candor, appears to be an able advocate of his viewpoint and Mr. Nixon has picked him on ideological grounds; but can the Senate forego the same grounds in considering him?

The larger fact is that taking shortcuts over the Bill of Rights to fight crime won't get at the real "factories of crime," the ghettos and the prisons themselves (where 70 percent of inmates are repeaters) and it may well have dangerous side effects. Crime is outrageously high in America and seemingly getting worse; among other things the 30 million handguns distributed over the country are like the wild cells of leukemia in a cancer-ridden patient. Mr. Rehnquist believes in such things as search and seizure, without advance approval of a magistrate, whenever it is deemed "reasonable" in a situation involving national security. That is a heavy ideological burden for a judge to carry forward perhaps into AD 2000.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 165, No. 19, Issue 2967, November 6, 1971. Published weekly (except the issues of January 2, July 31, Aug. 14 and Aug. 28, 1971) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

7–11 Comment
Court Appointments, Enter China, Initiatives, Antiwar Games, Mrs. Gandhi's Visit
11 The Old Home Town – *Darryl Baskin*
12 The Nixon Watch: Chosen Two – *John Osborne*
13 Negotiations: The View from Hanoi – *George McT. Kahin*
17 Favorite Sons in '72 – *Ken Bode*
21 How to Play Monopoly: Oil Everywhere – *Peter Barnes*
24 Theater – *Stanley Kauffmann*
25 Books – Reviews by *Reed Whittemore, John Seelye, Morton H. Halperin*
29 Reconsiderations: *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* – *Andrew M. Greeley*

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Staff Writers – Eliot Marshall, Daniel Zwerdling
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Court Appointments

The President went on TV the evening of Thursday, October 21 to emphasize that appointing Supreme Court Justices was one of the most important things Presidents do, that only persons of high professional attainments should be considered, even though a President was entitled to pick people whose outlook was congenial to his own, that Justices are meant to be independent and not "puppets . . . pulled by the President who appointed them," and that he himself respected the Supreme Court and expected his fellow citizens to do so as well. It was startling to hear that after appointing Chief Justice Burger, the President had told him that "I would never talk to him about a case that was before the Court." Good God, of course not! Such a thing should not need saying. But on the whole, the speech was a good one.

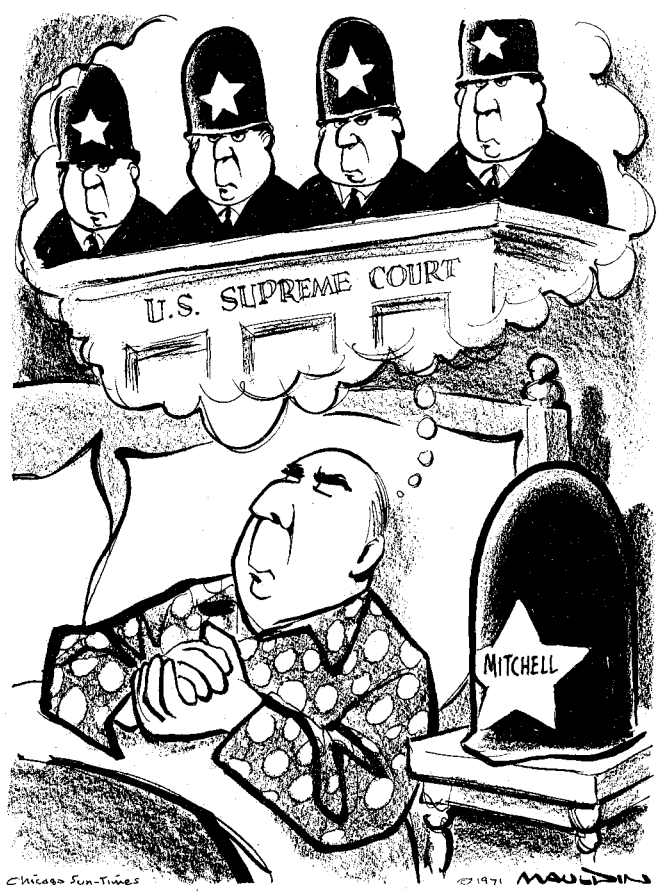
It came just in time. What had preceded it was slapstick, banana peel and all, directed by Keystone Kop Mitchell. The administration, which in this instance included Mrs. Nixon, was set on finding a woman as well as a southerner. But the pool of women who are both ideologically acceptable to the President and who have adequate professional qualifications is very small. Conservative southern lawyers are in plentiful supply, but as the administration had demonstrated before, mediocrities or racists tend to spring to its eye when it surveys the South. And so the administration put out a list of women and southerners – including among the latter the egregious Robert Byrd of West Virginia – on which the only name that made any sense or that should have had any chance of getting through the Senate was that of Judge Charles Clark of Mississippi, whom quite evidently there was no intention of appointing.

This for the most part farcical, if not insulting, list was made public in the first place because Attorney General Mitchell had committed himself last year to let the American Bar Association pass on prospective nominees before the President would submit any names to the Senate. This was wrong-headed as well as unprecedented with respect to Supreme Court appointments. The Bar Association represents no one but an oligarchy of lawyers whose advice does not deserve to be solicited in this fashion. The Senate, not the Bar Association, is charged by the Constitution to advise and consent. And the President nominates. If either needs outside advice,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a committee of the Bar Association is not the best, and should certainly not be the only, or in any sense an official, source of it. Mr. Mitchell undoubtedly hoped he could count on the Bar Association for a kind of craven, automatic support, of the sort he got for both the earlier Haynsworth and Carswell nominations. His commitment of last year proved to be ill-advised from his own point of view, as well as wrong-headed. The worm turned. The Bar Association would not endorse the two people on the list whom the administration wanted – an unknown lawyer from Arkansas, and a lady from Los Angeles whose chief experience has been as a family relations judge. The President, in a manner described by John Osborne in his *Nixon Watch* (page 12), thereupon had Mr. Mitchell terminate the special relationship with the Bar Association. That is all to the good.

Having scrapped the impossible dream-list, the President in his TV address announced his nominations of Lewis F. Powell, Jr. of Virginia, and William H. Rehnquist of Arizona. Powell, 64, a former president of the American Bar Association (perhaps the least of his achievements), is no stranger to public service and has a good national reputation among his peers as a lawyer. Rehnquist, 47, was law clerk in 1952-53 to the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, practiced in Phoenix, and has been in Washington since this administration came to power as assistant attorney general in charge of the Office of Legal Counsel. As such, he has been the principal lawyer advising the administration internally on constitutional and statutory issues. He has also been the administration's most frequent witness at congressional hearings on legal issues. He has, quite plainly, a first-rate intellect.



Both men are conservatives, political conservatives, not merely, as the President said, judicial ones (whatever he may have meant by that), though neither is by any stretch of the imagination a racist or a Birchite. Rehnquist particularly is, in every sense of the phrase, a man of the Right. He supported Barry Goldwater in 1964, and not *pro forma*. His expressed views on the rights of protestors, on wiretaps, pretrial detention, arrest procedures, pornography, show a clear, even extreme, bias in favor of the established order's right to protect itself against real or imagined threats – and by measures widely regarded as inimical to personal liberty. They are views that are not now powerfully represented on the Court. The extent to which they are his own views or were those of the government's advocate is uncertain and should be explored by the Senate. They necessarily raise the question of the relevance of ideology in Supreme Court appointments and the scope of the presidential prerogative of choice.

The Supreme Court is a court of law, and law is an intellectual discipline. But on this court, law is a discipline that leads and circumscribes the way to ultimate value judgments, which in turn are influenced if not determined for each Justice by his own ideological orientation. Hence that orientation is relevant in the process of confirmation as well as in the process of nomination. But the Constitution gives the President the prerogative of initial choice. The issue for a senator, therefore, is not whether he would have chosen a Rehnquist or a Powell, else the jockeying between President and Senate would be endless and often result in deadlock. The question is rather – ethics and basic professional qualifications to the side – how drastically the ideological orientation of the entire Court will be affected by an appointment, and in what direction. A senator must also inquire into how much an appointee will add to, or detract from, the intellectual distinction of the institution, for one of the roles of the Court is to carry on the most intense and most widely attended seminar on the most fundamental governmental issues of the day. An appointment which promises to enrich the intellectual content of that seminar is to be regarded as valuable, so long as the nominee's position falls within the universe of rational discourse and is not morally offensive. If there is a struggle over Rehnquist's confirmation, its real point should be to give notice that after four appointments – all congenial to the President – he will be required by the Senate, should he have any more to make, to move nearer to the center.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Enter China

"A moment of infamy" was Ambassador George Bush's description of the historic vote to seat Peking and oust Taipei as China's representative in the United Nations. Barry Goldwater, as usual, wanted to get off the globe because it wasn't turning his way; "anti-American," he called the UN, and demanded that the US pullout. The President joined the chorus by telling Mr. Ziegler to tell the press how angered he was by the cheers and dancing in the aisles at the General Assembly by foreigners who had supped at our table – but most observers found the jubilation more attractive than Mr. Nixon's petulance. Senators James Buckley of New York and Peter Dominick of Colorado tried to persuade their colleagues to reduce the US contribution to the United Nations (roughly $300 million a year), and especially to its specialized agencies. They were not so much supported as headed off by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Republican Minority Leader Hugh Scott, who, in rather mild tones, allowed as how the US contribution might need review but not because of the China vote. This was Secretary Rogers' conclusion, too: "probably [we are] contributing more than our share." Sen. Fulbright added the thought that instead of penalizing the UN, it might be better to penalize the nations which voted against us or abstained. Forty-three of the countries that voted counter to the US position are scheduled to receive $1.5 billion in US aid in the current fiscal year; 12 others who abstained will get $813 million if the Congress passes the pending $3.2 billion foreign aid authorization bill.

Much of this post-vote flap was little more than grandstanding for Grand Rapids. The World's Greatest Power is not accustomed to losing when it puts its mind to winning, and 21 years of official and unofficial propaganda about the mischievous Red Chinese can't be dissipated overnight. But when calm is restored, we expect sober judgement to prevail, and then it will be seen that although some minor adjustment in UN payments may be proper, $300 million for the work of the world organization, put alongside the $3.2 billion in foreign aid is not excessive. Far more important than the Buckley-Dominick-Goldwater reprisal threat was the contrary expression of full backing of the UN decision, regardless of the vote, signed by 32 influential Democratic and Republican senators, including Robert Dole, Republican National Chairman.

The US position on dual representation in the UN was untenable from the start. The question was not who should be expelled from the UN, but who China is, and there has not been any doubt about the answer to that question for years. The administration's fence straddling found no support among any of this country's important friends, with the exception of Japan, which went along very reluctantly. The fight for Taipei that was made doubtless gratified what remains of the China lobby in America, but it was not edifying to others. Domestic politics are not always supportive of far-sighted foreign policies, and yet the moralistic overkill used by Ambassador Bush to support the two-China formula brought to mind one of Mao's better aphorisms, whereby the enemy "lifts a rock only to drop it on his own feet." Perhaps the sorriest part of Bush's presentation was his insistence on the Nationalists as "representing 14 million people on Taiwan," a larger constituency, as the ambassador never tired of saying, than more than two-thirds of the UN members could claim. Unable even to elect their own provincial governor, the 12 million Taiwanese and two million mainlanders were in no way represented by Chiang Kai-shek's delegates. Were the US ambassador in Taipei to speak as passionately for representation there as did our man at the UN, there might not be the secret arrests, military trials, and endless incarceration of those Taiwanese and mainlanders who are considered suspect by Chiang Kai-shek and his police chief, Chiang-kue.

One need not lament prematurely the Chinese Nationalist state. The UN ouster in no way determines the legal competence of Chiang's regime to carry on international business, any more than it determines the occupancy of the Chinese Embassy in Washington or the bona fides of US treaty commitments. Unless President Nixon is prepared to jump through higher hoops than he has indicated to date, he is not going to transfer diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Peking in his conversations with Chou En-lai sometime after the first of next year. Those talks, Mr. Kissinger emphasized last week, will mark only the beginning of a process that, someday, may end "the isolation from each other of two great peoples."

Once seated, obviously Peking will not bow in submissive appreciation for receiving its just due after 21 years of waiting. On the contrary, we should expect the same rhetoric, legalistic legerdemain and corridor lobbying from the People's Republic delegates as has already become standard practice for all other UN members, most notably the US and the Soviet Union. There is reason, however, to welcome Peking's contribution to the many UN services which lie outside the hot glare of publicity. Most of the 130 UN members are far closer to China's economic level than they are to that of Japan, much less the United States. The mainland's approach to the complex problems inherit in transition from a traditional to a modern society – education, urbanization, health, birth control – command wide interest. Where scarce capital and limited material resources combine with unemployed laborers, as in much of Africa and Latin America, the People's Republic may provide some useful lessons at the UN, wholly apart from Peking's necessary participation in such global enterprises as meteorology, pollution and epidemic control.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Initiatives

A by-product of the ecology and consumer movements has been an upsurge of interest in the initiative process. Environmentalists in California have placed on the next statewide ballot a sweeping measure that would ban additional off-shore oil drilling, phase out leaded gasolines, shut down industrial polluters, restrict use of pesticides and put a five-year moratorium on construction of new nuclear power plants. Public interest groups in Colorado are considering initiatives that would require registration of lobbyists, boost corporate taxes and reform the public utilities commission. An initiative in Washington would protect the state's shoreline from oil drilling, clear-cutting of timber, and environmentally damaging forms of development. There have been several dozen statewide initiatives in recent years, mostly in the West, and many more at local levels. Most of them have been unsuccessful, and it is worth examining why.

First adopted by South Dakota in 1898, the initiative quickly spread and is now on the books in 20 states. In the early years, it reflected progressive goals: shorter hours for women and children, public utility regulation, the direct primary, female suffrage. Nebraska got its unicameral legislature though direct legislation. But by a curious reversal of historical intent, the initiative lately has tended to serve special interests rather than curb them. Population growth has pushed up the number of signatures needed to place an initiative on the ballot – in California, for example, only 30,858 signatures were needed to launch an initiative in 1911; today the number is 325,504. Since each petition-signer must be matched to his voting precinct, collecting and correlating signatures has become so burdensome that, with few exceptions, only professional signature-gathering firms (who charge up to 50 cents per signature) or large groups (teachers' associations) have been able to qualify initiatives for the ballot.

Campaign advertising costs have also soared. In 1964, a California initiative sponsored by movie theater chains to prohibit pay television listed $972,000 in campaign expenditures; another measure sponsored by the American Sweepstakes Corporation of Pasadena to set up a privately administered state lottery reported costs of $549,000; the California Railroad Association and other supporters spent $1.9 million to repeal the state's "full crew" law.

In Washington state last year, an initiative designed to stimulate recycling of bottles and cans would have required a five-cent deposit on all beer and soft drink containers. Early polls showed the measure winning with as much as 80 percent of the vote. A last-minute advertising blitz, in which the container industry spent upwards of half a million dollars, led to the initiative's defeat by a narrow margin. Ads claimed the initiative would raise the cost of a six-pack by 48 cents – a false assertion which nevertheless swung many votes. In California, a widely supported ballot measure that would have allocated up to 25 percent of gas tax revenues for mass transit and air pollution control was defeated by an ad campaign heavily financed by Standard Oil of California, Union Oil and Mobil.

Notwithstanding the need for reform of the initiative process (lowering the number of signatures required, for example, and putting a reasonable ceiling on campaign expenditures) many public-interest groups feel the 18-year-old vote has enhanced the possibilities of initiatives. In some states, where the number of signatures needed to put an initiative on the ballot this year or next is a fixed percentage of the number of persons who voted in 1970, the addition of hundreds of thousands of new voters since 1970 has lowered the actual percentage of signatures needed (in terms of currently eligible voters), at least until the voter base is recalculated in 1974. There are signs that many young people, bored by "personality politics," are becoming interested in "issue politics." An initiative can't "sell out" after an election; if it wins, it's law.

Antiwar Games

It was hardly noticed, but last week antiwar veterans Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Benjamin Spock, Sidney Peck, Dick Gregory and others converged in Washington under the banner of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice to demand that the "entire administration vacate all positions of authority within the government." On Veterans' Day, about 300 demonstrators turned out in pouring rain for a rally at the Washington Monument. (Across the Potomac about 2500 watched Vice President Agnew lay a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.) Later, in a nearby church, 500 ate brown rice, vegetables, nut cakes, salad with sunflower seeds and fish sauce. The following day, at the Monument, they heard a rock group play *Bernardine* (for Bernardine Dohrn, the Weatherwoman who fled to Algeria) and *Freaked Out*, then listened passively while speakers told them that Mr. Nixon is a liar, a maniac and a murderer. The Rev. James Groppi telephoned Paris and talked over a loudspeaker hookup with members of the North Vietnamese delegation, after which the assembly walked toward the White House, was stopped, and police arrested 300 who sat down in the middle of a busy intersection at the height of the rush-hour traffic.

The National Peace Action Coalition, another antiwar umbrella group, will sponsor antiwar meetings in 17 cities on November 6. And for next summer, Rennie Davis promises the largest rally in the history of the world – in San Diego. "We're going to do the same thing to Richard Nixon that we did to Lyndon Johnson in 1968," he says. So goes the Movement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mrs. Gandhi's Visit

Although the State Department put a ban on arms sales to Pakistan in March, it did not revoke licenses already issued; shipments have continued despite Indian protests. Using mostly American-made weapons, the West Pakistani army battles the Bengali independence movement in the east – a violent campaign which drives thousands across to India every day. These two variables – arms and refugees – are likely to dominate the "working discussion" this week in Washington between Mr. Nixon and India's prime minister, Indira Gandhi.

Although Indian officials say that the 20-year friendship treaty they signed with the Russians last August should not "in any way" be interpreted as directed against the US, the move did nothing to improve relations with Washington. At a recent press conference in Brussels, Mrs. Gandhi acknowledged that her country is receiving "massive arms deliveries" from Russia, but, she said, there's nothing unusual in that.

India's decision to shelter Pakistani refugees has been costly, daily increasing pressure on the government to take strong action to solve the crisis. Pakistan claims there are only about two million refugees in India, but the UN says there are "at least 6.5 million," and the State Department accepts India's present estimate of 9.5 million. According to figures used in a USAID report filed last May, it will cost India between $350 million and $850 million to care for these refugees for six months. The US and other countries have already promised $200 million and Congress plans to consider a proposal to give another $250 million. It is not too much.

Student Voters

The Old Home Town

Local populations are not taking kindly to the prospective influx of college voters onto their communities' electoral rolls. The fear seems to be that some demonic combination of youthful idealism and nihilistic spite will prompt the students to vote for unwise expenditures and leave the towns holding the empty bag. People should have to face the consequences of their politics, the argument goes, or else there is little reason to hope for civic virtue. The *stake in society* theory of Whig liberalism is not dead yet. Accordingly, it is only logical, and equitable, that the college youth should vote in their "home towns." These in turn are defined as those places where their parents reside. There are some difficulties with this perspective. Let me suggest what these are.

While one may be a temporary resident in a community, it does not automatically follow that he or she will for this reason exercise the franchise with irresponsible measure of abandon. If such a connection between residency and civic virtue does exist, then a goodly proportion of our unique and physically mobile electorate ought to be disenfranchised for the safety of the Republic. At the very least, we would not, according to this reasoning, want those who may be in a community only five or ten years voting in elections in which longer term expenditures must be passed upon.

Students do not have "home towns" inasmuch as many will scatter upon graduation to the four corners of the Republic in pursuit of employment opportunities or loved ones met in the course of the college years. Even in their "home towns," many students can be considered "short-timers" undeserving of the franchise. More importantly, however, the granting of the franchise is a recognition of adulthood, of peer status in the community. For most adults, "home town" is where you hang your hat most of the year. For college adults, that means their campus communities. If an adult's "home town" is where his or her parents reside, then many of those who make the "home town" argument should probably be voting by absentee ballot as well. Participation in an election at the time it is held and electoral participation after the results are known creates two kinds of citizenship: first class and second class.

The logic of discrimination in the exercise of the franchise based on dormitory domicile as *prima facie* evidence of temporary residency intentions argues as well against the right of all nonhomeowners to vote in the communities in which they reside.

Except for the limited number of cases in which a multiversity is located in other than a metropolitan community, the risk of a student "take-over" for most college communities is nil. For local governments are as much influenced by the interplay of informal power, political organization, and elite consultation in determining what issues and respective options get on the public agenda as they are by the decisions of their electorates operating within the framework of these political structures.

The final and crucial consideration in the matter of the college vote may rest upon the confidence we are willing to put in our Jeffersonian legacy of faith in the connection between education and civic virtue. If we cannot look forward to civic virtue in our college population, maybe it's time we closed up shop, be it either higher education or the Republic.

Darryl Baskin

MR. BASKIN *teaches government at Windham College in Vermont.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nixon Watch

Chosen Two

With some necessary background from the public record, here is the gist of what I hear at the White House and elsewhere about the strange events and behavior that preceded the President's nominations of Lewis F. Powell Jr. and William Rehnquist to be Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The story around Washington that the President said "Fuck the ABA!" in a moment of extreme irritation with the American Bar Association and its judiciary committee of 12 eminent lawyers is correct. A printed report that the remark surprised and shocked the assistants who heard it is not correct. Mr. Nixon often talks like that; the operative word is one of his favorites. The interesting thing about the use of it in this instance is that Attorney General John Mitchell brought on the situation that vexed the President. In 1969, when he nominated Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, the President excluded his choices for the Supreme Court from the preliminary ABA review to which prospective nominees for the lower federal courts are customarily subjected. In July of 1970, after the Senate had rejected the nominations of Clement Haynsworth and Harrold Carswell, the Attorney General agreed with Bernard Segal of Philadelphia, then the ABA's president, and Lawrence E. Walsh of New York, then and now chairman of the ABA judiciary committee, that ABA review of Supreme Court prospects might save the President from the kind of embarrassing and belated disclosures that did in Haynsworth and Carswell. Mr. Nixon must have assented to the change. Officially, however, it was John Mitchell's doing. His agreement with the ABA, formalized by letter, obligated him to submit the names of possible nominees to the Walsh committee for its review before he recommended them to the President. But, as nobody except the President seems to have realized at the time, it did not explicitly obligate Mr. Nixon to consider for nomination only prospects that the Attorney General had cleared with the committee and recommended to the President. It was a tricky arrangement, loaded with potential trouble, and the trouble inherent in it burst upon all concerned after the late Justice Hugo Black and Justice John M. Harlan retired from the Court.

Mitchell stipulated two conditions in letters to Segal and Walsh. They were that the ABA committee should confine its review and findings to "the professional qualifications" of prospective nominees and should do its utmost to keep the names submitted to it and its checks upon the individuals secret. Accepting both conditions, Walsh said in a reply to Mitchell that "the committee of course will do its best to keep confidential the names you submit." The inference, thoroughly understood by Mitchell, was that the committee's "best" almost certainly would not be enough to prevent discovery and publication of the names, once the committee members began checking with other lawyers all over the country. Walsh also promised Mitchell that the committee would report immediately to him, before its inquiries were completed, any early indications that a prospective nominee was likely to be found unqualified. Both of these factors, the understood probability of premature publication and early warning of adverse findings, figured in the fantastic smozzle that developed recently and clouded the nominations that Mr. Nixon finally made.

The President's personal view of the nomination process also figured in the murky drama. It is a view that was conditioned in part by his experience with the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations. He is said to remain as convinced as he was in 1969 that the Attorney General served him well when he recommended Judge Haynsworth for promotion to the Supreme Court from the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. The fatal flaws in the Attorney General's preliminary checks on Haynsworth, having mostly to do with the nominee's stock holdings and financial connections with a few litigants, are blamed by the President upon the natural hazards of investigation, not upon Mitchell. There is said to be a difference, though not a very critical difference, in the President's evaluation of the Carswell debacle. The Attorney General's acknowledged failure to discover, in time to prevent a disastrous nomination, the indications of sheer racist prejudice in Carswell's past and remnants of it in his performance as an appellate judge, was too glaring to be overlooked. But even that failure served chiefly, in the President's mind, to strengthen and confirm his distrust of the processes of investigation upon which he must rely when he is choosing among lawyers and judges who are known to him only by reputation and through the recommendations of others. Mr. Nixon's ideal nominee for the Supreme Court is one whom he knows well enough to judge for himself, and the only nominee to date who has fully met that requirement is Chief Justice Burger. "I have known him for 21 years," the President said when he nominated Burger, and he has not been wholly happy and comfortable with any nominee since then.

It was in this general state of mind, I am told at the White House, that the President let his Attorney General compile a list of six prospective nominees for the two vacancies left by Justices Black and Harlan and submit them for an ABA review to which Mr. Nixon never did attach much value. His initial choice for Justice Black's seat, Congressman Richard H. Poff of Virginia, had become known within days after Poff's name was submitted to the Walsh committee. Poff withdrew when it began to seem that he might get less than a favorable ABA judgment and would, in consequence, have rough going at a Senate confirmation hearing. It was then that reporters began to hear around the White House the opinion that the ABA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

role was a nuisance, a makeweight, an unnecessary and regretted complication in a process that was perilous and complex enough at best.

Yet the six names went forward. Four people on the list – Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia; Judge Charles Clark of Mississippi and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals; Judge Paul H. Roney of Florida and the same court; and Judge Sylvia Bacon of the District of Columbia Superior Court, the city of Washington's lowest trial court – are acknowledged now to have been so much window-dressing. Byrd, the assistant Democratic leader in the Senate, was more than that for a few days, but he was dropped when it developed that he had never practiced law or taken a bar examination. The seriously considered candidates on the list were Herschel Friday of Little Rock, a locally distinguished attorney who was recommended and strongly urged upon the President by the Attorney General, and Judge Mildred Lillie of Los Angeles, who sits on the state district appellate court for Southern California.

Mitchell submitted the names to the ABA committee chairman, Leonard Walsh, late on Tuesday, October 12. Nina Totenberg, a reporter for the weekly *National Observer*, had the entire list and moved it on the Dow-Jones financial news wire Wednesday afternoon. The uproar that followed was ludicrous but damaging. The President's spokesmen at the White House and Mitchell's at Justice swore that nobody in either place leaked the list to Miss Totenberg. She said, days later, that her information didn't come from the ABA. I noted with interest that senior officials at the White House and at Justice made no effort whatever to find out where the leak came from and their spokesmen were obviously pleased when nobody else found out. I noted with equal interest that the President and the very few White House assistants who were concerned with and consulted about the nominations were not at all surprised when the news leaked that the ABA committee had voted 12 to 1 that Judge Lillie was not qualified for the Supreme Court. The committee split, 6 to 6, in finding variously that Herschel Friday was not qualified and barely qualified. Leonard Walsh had kept his promise to warn Mitchell in advance of any adverse findings.

Three days before the President announced his nominations, he asked Lewis Powell in Richmond to accept one of them and had William Rehnquist alerted to the possibility that he might get the other one. Mr. Nixon said the same day that Senator Byrd and "at least two women," meaning Judge Lillie, were still being considered. At the same time, he was complaining in the privacy of his office that the six prospects reviewed by the ABA were being "pilloried." So they were. But: Who pilloried them? And what did Mr. Nixon think he got out of the messy performance?

John Osborne

Negotiations

The View From Hanoi

by George McT. Kahin

It is evident that President Nixon has turned away from important negotiating opportunities which were offered by the NLF's Provisional Revolutionary Government at Paris four months ago in its new 7-Point proposal. Despite the desire of Hanoi and the NLF to discuss these points and their willingness to elucidate them in considerable detail, the President has been unwilling even to reconnoiter the much broader path to a negotiated settlement which they opened up. With respect to the release of American prisoners, the safe evacuation of American troops, and protection of the South Vietnamese against political reprisals, there is no doubt that these proposals and the Communists' subsequent explanations of them offer much that is new and represent a considerable effort to meet many of the public objections made by Mr. Nixon to earlier proposals.

It has been as clear to the Communists as to the Nixon administration that with Nguyen Van Thieu at the head of the Saigon administration there would be no negotiated settlement of the war. Thieu's vested interest in a continuation of the conflict is much too

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strong for him to accept any sort of compromise so long as he can count on American backing. The only alternative to a continuation of the fighting which he has offered is the NLF's capitulation, with its individual members invited to lay down their arms and trust to his announced good intentions. Any possible doubt as to his position was removed by his reiteration, particularly during the months leading up to the election, of his "Four No's" – no coalition government, no participation of Communists in government, no neutralism, and no loss of territory (*i.e.* no acceptance of any political accommodation wherein the NLF would retain the areas it now controls).

However, President Nixon's repeated protestations of concern for the safety and welfare of American troops and prisoners led Hanoi and the NLF to conclude that these matters were of great importance to him and that if they made significant concessions on them he would become seriously interested in negotiating an end to the war. They realized that Nixon wanted to maintain Thieu at the head of an anti-Communist government in Saigon. But they did not believe that in pursuit of that objective he would be willing to subordinate the interests of American prisoners and soldiers if he were provided with the opportunity for negotiating their release and safe withdrawal. The Vietnamese Communists expected that out of concern for the welfare of these men President Nixon would be willing to accept a sufficient change of leadership in Saigon to permit such negotiations, although apparently they realized he would not be willing to accept a coalition government, even one with only token NLF participation, at least until after November 1972.

Many of the non-Communist South Vietnamese opponents of Thieu who backed General Duong Van Minh's candidacy in the elections shared this view. They believed that if the US permitted reasonably free elections Minh would win, and that his election would meet at least the interim requirements of both the United States and the Vietnamese Communists. With General Minh in the Presidential Palace the way would be opened for serious negotiations, while at the same time Washington would be dealing with a non-Communist leader who acknowledged that substantial dependence on the United States would for a long time be essential to the viability of his regime. Washington could thus have a non-Communist government in Saigon which the Communists would be unlikely to subject to pressure, at least until after negotiations had been given a genuine try. This process, they argued, would take time and would therefore help ensure that such a regime would be still in place at the time of the American presidential elections – an objective which they believed ranked very high on Richard Nixon's scale of priorities.

Hanoi and the NLF would presumably have found little fault with the logic of this analysis. As they saw it, the Vietnam elections would make it possible for Nixon to leave it to the people of South Vietnam to replace Thieu themselves, thereby making it unnecessary for the US itself to arrange for his ouster. Moreover, by relying on the electoral process President Nixon could be regarded as acting consistently with Washington's oft-repeated pledge of self-determination for the South Vietnamese people.

The Communists' July 1 proposal was, therefore, attuned to the expectation that it would be attractive enough to the US to induce President Nixon to press for a reasonably open election – one which would allow someone to come to power who was representative of the clearly overwhelming sentiment in South Vietnam for an end to the fighting and a settlement by negotiation. Appreciation of this point is essential to an understanding of the July 1 proposals. If one keeps in mind the distinction between agreements and their execution, and that some of the bilateral agreements between the United States and the Communists require trilateral (that is, including Saigon) cooperation in execution, then it is easier to appreciate why the Communists believe there is a necessary interdependence between the section in their proposal relating to military matters (Point One) and that relating to political power (Point Two). Without question Saigon's cooperation is essential with respect to the exchange of prisoners, and almost certainly it is needed with regard to the safety of withdrawing American forces. As these are the two provisions likely to be most highly prized by the United States, the Communists had reason to believe that it was in the US interests as well as theirs to have a regime in Saigon which would not be an obstacle to implementation of any agreements reached.

The proposal which the Communists offered on July 1 is that if the US will stipulate a terminal date for the withdrawal of all American and foreign allied troops from Vietnam, they are prepared to enter into

---

GEORGE MCT. KAHIN, *former director of Cornell University's Southeast Asia program, is the editor of* Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia. *This article reflects conversations he had during a recent visit to Hanoi with various officials, including Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, Ambassador Ha Van Lau (a former delegate to the Paris talks who monitors the negotiations for the Prime Minister), and with the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) Special Representation in Hanoi. The article also draws on a trip to South Vietnam which Mr. Kahin made shortly before going to Hanoi. During the past four years Mr. Kahin has talked with members of the American and Vietnamese delegations to the Paris talks, and to representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and National Liberation Front (PRG) in Phnom Penh, Djakarta, Rangoon and Vientiane.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an agreement with us providing for the safety of these forces as they withdraw and for the release of all war prisoners – the last prisoner to be released concurrently with the departure of the last troops. (The July proposal indicated that this should be accomplished "by the end of 1971," but they are flexible concerning the date, regarding it as negotiable and extendable). Whereas a year ago the Communists were prepared merely to engage in "discussions" concerning these matters, with this new formula they met one of President Nixon's major objections by being prepared actually to come to an agreement with us spelling out in detail the nature of the safeguards that are required.

At the level of actual *implementation* there is an inescapable interdependence between agreements reached on military matters (withdrawal, cease-fire, and release of prisoners) and the question of political power in South Vietnam. Their proposal for a bilateral cease-fire with the forces of the US and its foreign allies as soon as the US gives a firm date for total withdrawal is something upon which an agreement can be negotiated directly with us, whether or not the Saigon government is in accord, although it might be very difficult to carry out this agreement without Saigon's cooperation. But with respect to the release of prisoners – "the totality of military men of all parties and of civilians captured in the war" – the problem is necessarily a three-sided one, and implementation of any agreements absolutely requires Saigon's assent and cooperation. Many of the prisoners involved are, of course, held by Saigon – both captured soldiers and political prisoners (non-Communist as well as Communist). And it is here that the consequences of past US military expediency have come back to haunt us. For we have given Thieu custody of the soldiers our forces have captured, and thereby we have made the problem of prisoner exchange much more difficult – necessarily a trilateral affair requiring Saigon's positive participation.

In talking with spokesmen of the NLF and the Hanoi government I gained the clear impression that the part of Point 2 that is essential to carry out if agreements on military matters are to be made operative is that calling for the United States to "respect the South Vietnamese peoples' right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam," and specifically to cease its efforts to maintain Thieu in power. (With their proposals coming out three months before the South Vietnamese election, they added "and stop all maneuvers, including tricks on elections, aimed at maintaining" him.) The Communists are not, as the Nixon administration alleges, calling upon the United States to "overthrow" Thieu, but simply to stop propping him up in defiance of the opposing majority of South Vietnamese opinion. In the interval between their July 1 proposals and the election they hoped to see a sufficient reduction in American partisanship to permit the South Vietnamese electorate to vote Thieu out of office.

Most of the remainder of Point 2 is of less immediate interest to the United States and covers arrangements whereby three elements – a new Saigon administration, the NLF and those South Vietnamese elements not attached to either of these other two groups – can arrange for a cease-fire between the military forces of Saigon and the Communists and work out a South Vietnamese political settlement. However, there is one other matter under Point 2 which should be of more direct concern – that relating to guarantees against political reprisal. Believing that President Nixon advanced his "bloodbath argument" as an excuse for avoiding a negotiated settlement, the Vietnamese Communists have given special prominence and stronger emphasis to their long-held position that any settlement must provide for concrete measures and effective guarantees prohibiting reprisals against people who have collaborated with whatever party. It is, I think, an earnest of their concern that in response to my questions they indicated they would be in favor of exploring possibilities for international supervision as a means of providing such guarantees, the object, they emphasized, being to agree on "the most effective measures."

Although the NLF and Hanoi are adamant in their insistence that any political settlement in Vietnam must be fashioned by the Vietnamese parties themselves without foreign interference, one of the strikingly new features of the July 1 proposals is the emphasis accorded to an international guarantee of any settlement that is concluded. Indeed, they have introduced a separate point (Number 7) in order to give this matter prominence. A Hanoi spokesman stated to me that there was an important role for outside powers in guaranteeing the settlement reached, and that there should be discussions at Paris concerning this matter. There, he said, whoever has opinions concerning "the concrete details about organization, duty and competence, etc." of international supervision can raise and discuss them. Moreover, he gave me the impression that in his government's view the scope for international guarantees need not be limited to agreements between the several Vietnamese parties, but could possibly be extended to cover the accords which Hanoi and the NLF reached with the United States on matters of cease-fire, exchange of prisoners, and the safe withdrawal of American and Allied forces.

In an effort to ascertain which foreign powers the Hanoi government thought might appropriately participate in guaranteeing a Vietnam settlement, I asked whether China, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and Japan might be possibilities. No comment, either positive or negative, was made concerning the first three countries, but it was made very clear that Hanoi would never accept Japan in such a role. Bitterness against Japan stems not merely from memories of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Japanese occupation, but also from their conviction that Japan has been a major ally of the US in its Vietnam intervention, providing what they term the "real logistical base" for American forces, while deriving great economic profit from the war. Moreover, Hanoi is profoundly repelled by Nixon's earlier suggestion that Japan assume military responsibilities in Southeast Asia.

The Communists argue that once the first two points in their July 1 proposal have been agreed upon there will be little difficulty in resolving the others, and they emphasize that, as with Points 1 and 2, they are open to discussion on all these points at Paris anytime the US wishes to raise them. (Points 3 to 6 follow closely similar points advanced by the Communists in their 1969 and 1970 statements; they are respectively headed: "Regarding the Question of Vietnamese Armed Forces in South Vietnam"; "Regarding the Peaceful Reunification of Vietnam and the Relations Between the North and South Zones"; "Regarding the Foreign Policy of Peace and Neutrality"; and "Regarding the Damages Caused by the US to the Vietnamese People in the Two Zones.") They repeatedly stressed to me that they are flexible and ready to discuss in Paris any aspect of their proposal, and in any order, that the US wishes; and that they are also prepared to discuss any points of its own which the United States wants to raise.

The extent to which spokesmen of Hanoi and the NLF were willing to elucidate and discuss details and nuances of the 7-Point proposal with me makes clear that if the US really wishes to talk substance, there is a great deal directly germane to a settlement that can be discussed at Paris, if only President Nixon will give his representatives there a mandate for doing so. Unless one equates "stubbornness" and "uncooperativeness" with the Communists' unwillingness to negotiate their own surrender, it is clear that major responsibility for the impasse at Paris lies with the Nixon administration.

Apparently President Nixon still believes that by heavy reliance on American air power and artillery, he can provide Thieu with the minimally necessary amount of support for ensuring the survival of his regime through 1972, while at the same time withdrawing American troops at a rate, and keeping their casualties down to a level, tolerable to most of the American public. As a fall-back position, in case American casualties again become numerous enough to enflame public opinion against him, the President retains the option of making a well-publicized move toward negotiation in the form of a proposal realistic enough to blunt domestic criticism, even if it did not at that late stage succeed in convincing the Communists that he is serious. At least for his American audience he might be able to develop a plausible argument that the time necessary to give such a new proposal a fair chance required patience, until after November 1972.

In the meantime, President Nixon has, of course, bought time with the American public because of expectations concerning a Vietnam settlement aroused by his projected trip to Peking. Past statements of his and of previous administrations have undoubtedly conditioned many Americans to assume Hanoi's subservience to Peking's wishes; and this myth is now useful to him. It is bound to take some time before Americans appreciate that the proposition that Peking can be relied upon to use its good offices in a Vietnam settlement in a way that favors the United States is no more realistic than the Nixon administration's earlier assumption that Moscow would do so. Whatever the President's expectations, Hanoi and the NLF are evidently not worried that his conversations in Peking are going to lead to any diminution of Chinese support in their struggle with the United States. Nor do they see him inducing China to sponsor an international conference on Vietnam or on Indochina as a whole against their wishes – and they do oppose any such conference unless it is for the purpose of guaranteeing agreements reached at Paris or by the Vietnamese parties themselves. There is no reason to believe that the Chinese could force such a conference on the Vietnamese Communists, and there is no evidence to indicate that they want to try. President Nixon cannot by-pass Paris by going to Peking.

Mr. Nixon can get a cease fire with the Communists in Vietnam covering American forces and those of our foreign allies; he can get all remaining Americans and foreign allied troops out safely; he can secure the release of all American and allied prisoners; and he can get safeguards to help protect the various Vietnamese parties against reprisals. But he cannot get these and also maintain Thieu in power. And he cannot maintain Thieu or any other anti-Communist government in Saigon much longer unless he is willing to commit more American lives to that proposition than the American public is likely to tolerate. For it has become increasingly clear that the withdrawal of American troops increases neither the ability nor the desire of Saigon's forces to protect the Americans who are left behind.

The NLF and Hanoi certainly have the capacity to upset the President's calculations and his timetable, but the propitious time for them to do so would be later, well into the dry season and after a larger number of American troops have withdrawn. A President who has talked so often in terms of negotiating from strength is then likely to find that his negotiating position has become much weaker, and he may well be reproached at home for not having followed up opportunities for saving American and Vietnamese lives offered in our adversaries' recent negotiating offer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Real and Phony Candidates

Favorite Sons in '72

by Ken Bode

Question: From the following list of distinguished citizens of the state of Ohio, pick those who ran for President: John Bricker, Stephen Young, Frazier Reams, Albert Porter, James A. Rhodes, Frank B. Willis, Robert Bulkley, George White, Charles Sawyer. *Answer:* All of them.

None but Ohioans had the opportunity to vote for any of these "favorite sons" for the presidential nomination. But the privilege carried a price: Ohioans rarely saw the real Republican or Democratic presidential hopefuls; the bona fide candidates spent their time campaigning in other states. And it may happen again, for interesting reasons.

If the party in power has an incumbent President eligible for reelection, the favorite son is useful as his stand-in. For in the odd chance that there is a successful insurgency, so orthodox political rationale reads, the President emerges unscarred; the stand-in is sacrificed. That is why Senator Robert Taft, Jr. announced earlier this year that he would head the 1972 GOP Ohio delegation; the administration was worried at the time about a possible challenge to Mr. Nixon by Paul McCloskey (R, Calif.). That fear has since subsided.

On the other hand, if the party is out of power and there is no heir apparent (namely, the Democratic situation as of November 1971), favorite sons come forth to preserve harmony in a state party or to maximize the influence of the state delegation at the next convention. Or they may stand in to save the real presidential contenders money.

In general, a favorite son seeks to lock up his state's delegation so that he may barter its votes at the critical moment for his advantage. If his timing or judgment is faulty, he may of course lessen his state's influence at a convention – as when Ohio's Gov. Rhodes held his delegation too long in 1968 and Richard Nixon was nominated anyway. The smart politician has faster footwork than that, and Ohio's new governor, John Gilligan, is a smart politician who recently announced he inclines toward a favorite son candidacy for himself in '72. Especially in uncertain political years, when it is useful to "wait and see how things shake down after the first few primaries," numerous governors and senators begin to think of themselves as favorite sons or to consider setting up an "official" uncommitted slate. It's a way of keeping open the leaders' (though not the voters') options.

Early in 1960, there were at least five real Democratic presidential contenders – Senators John F. Kennedy, Symington, Humphrey and Johnson, and the party's titular leader, Adlai Stevenson. But it was not so much the number of candidates that seemed likely to prevent anyone's getting a first ballot victory; it was what Ted Sorensen called the "spectacular number" of favorite sons – Governors Brown of California, Williams of Michigan, Meyner of New Jersey, Lawrence of Pennsylvania, Collins (or Senator Smathers) of Florida, Tawes of Maryland, Hodges of North Carolina, DiSalle (or Senator Lausche) of Ohio, McNichols of Colorado, Docking of Kansas and Loveless of Iowa, plus Senators Hartke in Indiana and Morse in Oregon. Not all these "dark horses" left the stable (if they had, favorite sons would have tied up 985 of 2622 first-ballot votes). But the shifting ambitions of each had to be reckoned with, and together they were as much a factor in the contest for the nomination as were rank-and-file preferences expressed in open primaries and conventions.

Not much has changed in 10 years. Favorite sons remain a preferred device of party leaders. Contrary to general belief, they have not been banned by either of the Democratic Party's reform commissions. What the McGovern-Fraser Commission guidelines do say, is that no national convention delegate may be bound by a party rule, action of a caucus, or even by the laws of a state, to cast his convention ballot for a favorite son *against his will.* But nothing prevents all 153 Ohio delegates from freely giving their pledge to Jack Gilligan in the primary, and then freely delivering their convention votes to Gilligan's personal presidential choice in Miami next summer.

The O'Hara Commission on Rules, though it considers favorite sons an anachronism, does no more than make it inconvenient for them to maneuver at the convention. For example, any candidate who wishes to have his name placed in nomination for the presidency must present a petition signed by at least 50 delegates, of whom no more than 20 may come from a single state. This raises interesting possibilities of trade-offs

---

KEN BODE *is director of the Center for Political Reform. Formerly he was research director for the McGovern Commission of the Democratic Party and legislative assistant to Senator George McGovern.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among various favorite sons. In a convention of over 3000 delegates, an enterprising governor ought to be able to pick up 50 signatures in a hotel bar. They will be useful to him not simply because they may give him a moment or two of prime time on national television (he may not even bother to have his name placed in nomination), but because in a fluid or deadlocked convention delegates are negotiable currency.

Although favorite sons are not serious candidates, to be successful they must be taken seriously. So they seek early visibility. Consider the following seven states:

Ohio (153 votes): Nowhere is the favorite son tradition so firmly fixed and facilitated by state law. The primary comes in May, but the February 2 filing deadline means that petitioning must begin in early January, long before the campaign issues or candidates have become clear. In 1968, for instance, nearly two months *after* the Ohio filing deadline, President Johnson announced his withdrawal and Sen. Robert Kennedy's candidacy became official. Furthermore, delegates in Ohio must run pledged to their first and second presidential choices, with the written consent of both persons named. No serious candidate will permit himself to be listed as a second choice, however, and most are reluctant to make January commitments for a May primary – especially when the state's political leaders are staking out the turf for themselves. So, every four years a couple of Ohio politicians in each party who have no intention of running for President in 1968 it was Senator Stephen Young and Frazier Reams for the Democrats, Gov. James Rhodes and Rep. John Ashbrook for the GOP – affirm that indeed they are candidates. And delegates who have no expectation of voting for these men at their respective conventions nonetheless circulate petitions affirming that they will. Hardly anyone can remember when the voters of Ohio got a chance to choose among real contenders.

Gilligan has told all Democratic presidential hopefuls that any attempt on their part to seek the support of Ohio's delegation "will be considered a hostile, unfriendly, disruptive act." Citing the major expense involved in running in Ohio and his fears that an open primary contest would stimulate party discord, the governor says that "in all probability" there will be an official party slate. As the Democratic Party's best-known governor, Gilligan could be in a good position in a deadlocked convention with a unified delegation behind him. In a private meeting with Richard Daley, the governor and the mayor of Chicago recently agreed to "keep each other posted" on developments in their respective states.

Illinois (170): It was Boss Tweed who said, "I don't care who elects 'em as long as I can nominate 'em." Daley sits atop an elaborate Democratic Party slate-making apparatus for state office that has nearly always nullified the need for a Democratic primary in Illinois. Keeping all doors slightly ajar, the mayor will seek to hold the Illinois convention delegation in hand and play a power-brokering role in Miami. Speculation about a statewide favorite son candidacy by Senator Adlai Stevenson III bubbles up from time to time, but it is more likely that Daley's Cook County organization will field uncommitted slates as notice to outsiders that these delegates are off-limits. None of the leading contenders seems ready to incur Daley's wrath by running against his appointed slates in Chicago's 10 congressional districts. The same strategy will probably apply in the suburbs of Chicago and downstate, where the mayor's control is somewhat less certain.

The Illinois primary is early – a week after Florida – and its January filing deadline is the earliest in the country. Since delegates file and run individually in congressional districts, any presidential candidate wishing to run in Illinois faces the prospect of building an expensive statewide network of supporters. With the mayor unwilling to tip his hand, none has made the necessary commitment. If the Gilligan-Daley alliance holds up, the parties to the pact could swing a sizable block of delegates.

California (271): One of the major recommendations of the McGovern Commission was that state delegate selection systems be structured so that the delegation chosen fairly reflects the strength of each presidential candidate. But in California, the scenario for party reform might have been written by Jules Feiffer. A special report of California's party reform committee, signed by every leading Democrat in the state, ignored the commission's pleadings and urged retention of the present winner-take-all primary. It argued that if California's rich lode of delegates is at stake in a single lump, it will encourage candidates to campaign in the state; no serious contender could afford to pass up the June 6 primary. Furthermore, the report said, California's Democrats are "among the most enlightened in the country," and only if their delegate votes are cast as a single unit will they be sure of their proper influence in Miami.

But then they had second thoughts. Did they really want *all* the candidates to campaign in the California primary? A divisive five or six-way Democratic fight, with one candidate picking up all the delegates, could leave the state's Democrats at war with each other and bankrupted before the general election. Faced with that prospect, the Democratic State Committee first sought to arrange a way to pick a "unity" delegation *after* the primary. All the delegates are bound by law to vote for the winner of the preference poll, they reasoned,

COMING: a far-ranging conversation with Walter Lippmann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so why not mix in supporters of all the primary contenders afterward, rather than having each candidate file a full slate in advance? This would help keep everybody (especially big givers) happy and unify the party for the general election. But . . . it is a system perfectly designed to produce "unfaithful delegates," delegates bound by law to vote for one presidential candidate but who work against his interests. Anyway, the post-primary system for selecting delegates was explicitly rejected by the McGovern-Fraser Commission.

If it was not a good idea to have *all* the Democratic contenders *in* California, perhaps it would be better to keep them *all out*. So a proposal has been advanced for a pre-primary "unity slate," comprised of the supporters of all the leading Democratic candidates and apportioned according to some formula. One suggestion would give each candidate a number of delegates in proportion to his strength in a statewide public opinion poll held just before the primary! Were this strategy to be adopted, the slate would be headed by Senator John Tunney, all the serious candidates would agree to stay away from California, and the primary would be meaningless, since the delegates would be free to do as they wished at Miami. This fanciful procedure originated with a couple of dozen California businessmen who normally bankroll Democratic politics, and who fear that a wide-open primary could cost $10-12 million. Who wants to invest that kind of money in a primary and wind up not even going to the convention? Tunney, whose political fortunes would be advanced by heading up the pivotal California delegation in '72, has said he is flattered, concerned about the spiraling costs of electoral politics, and interested if the presidential candidates can agree. They probably cannot.

Fragmentation is endemic among California Democrats. Their new taste for unity reflects the uncertainty of their judgment about who can and will win their primary. The unity scheme permits them to hedge their bets. But if its proponents pull it off, the most important primary in the nation will have been neutralized.

Texas (130): Lt. Governor Ben Barnes and Senator Lloyd Bentsen are just about the only major Democratic officeholders who haven't been besmirched by the stock scandal that has ravaged Texas Democrats. Barnes wants Bentsen as Texas' favorite son in 1972. Others want Barnes. The party is deeply split between the supporters of former Senator Ralph Yarborough and those of Lyndon Johnson and former Governor John Connally. In the past, the LBJ-Connally majority faction could paste over the split for national convention purposes by simply running a favorite son and invoking the unit rule – binding the minority to vote with the majority faction on key decisions. But the '68 Chicago convention outlawed the unit rule.

Since the McGovern Commission has not banned favorite sons, however, urging only that minority presidential supporters get representation on a delegation, the Texas system has emerged from the reform movement like Barnes from the stock scandal: intact. If their strength holds, the majority Connally faction, of which both Bentsen and Barnes are important cogs, can run one or the other as a favorite son, select all the delegates by simple majority rule, and take a unified delegation to Miami. One Texan remarks, "In the unit-rule days, LBJ's folks used to take some of us to the convention and bind us to vote the way they wanted. Now the'll just apply majority rule and leave us all in Texas."

New Jersey (109): When the presidential nomination is in doubt, New Jersey Democrats have always bought time by looking to one of their own. In 1960, it was Gov. Robert Meyner; in 1968, Gov. Richard Hughes. Today, there is pressure among some state legislators and other organization types to field a favorite son slate headed by Sen. Harrison Williams. Williams is reluctant, but he has indicated that he favors some tactic to preserve new Jersey's traditional "uncommitted" position. He thinks "the final choice must be made further down the road." The state's late April filing deadline and minimal petition requirements are congenial to a delaying strategy.

Massachusetts (102): At this writing, the best guess is that the Democratic leadership in the Massachusetts Assembly will allow a primary reform bill to die. This means that three-fourths of the 1972 delegation will be selected as a single at-large slate, picked by the Democratic State Committee. The remainder will run in congressional districts. The result: a Massachusetts delegation solely in the hands of Sen. Kennedy.

This is how it works. A slate of easily identifiable Kennedy supporters is entered both at-large and in the congressional districts as "uncommitted." As in Illinois and New Jersey, clear warning is thus given to other potential contenders that the Massachusetts delegation is off-limits. Some time ago, when an open primary seemed likely in Massachusetts, McGovern announced he would run in the state, "taking Teddy at his word." Perhaps he still will. But Kennedy is bound to be important if the nomination is up for grabs by next summer. And no candidate, McGovern in particular, will wish to risk running behind a slate of "uncommitted" delegates in Massachusetts – and offending Kennedy in the bargain.

The present selection system in Massachusetts does not meet the McGovern Commission standards. For one thing, the state committee that chooses the at-large slate was selected three years before the calendar year of the convention. The process violates other commission guidelines as well. Joseph Gebhardt, who drafted the reformed primary bill that has languished in the legislature for nearly a year says: "If they come to Miami under the old system, we'll challenge the entire delegation. They can have their cake, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they'll never get to eat it."

Maryland (53): In 1968, the entire delegation was selected by the two-year-old state committee, a direct violation of the new reform guidelines. Now Maryland has a new primary law. This time, the state's leading Democrat, Gov. Marvin Mandel, is calling the shots, sometimes flirting with an uncommitted slate, sometime talking about becoming a favorite son himself. Mandel is a Muskie supporter, and if he runs as a favorite son he will be viewed by all concerned as a stand-in for the front-runner. That maybe awkward. In addition, Mandel is haunted by the vision of George Wallace returning to the scene of one of his most successful 1964 primary races. (Wallace polled 45 percent of the vote in Maryland's 1964 Democratic primary; as a result, the state abandoned the primary system altogether in 1968.) The governor's solution is to arrange matters so that unless a single presidential candidate gets a significant proportion (40 percent) of the primary vote, nobody wins, and all the delegates go to the conventions unbound. Either a Mandel favorite son slate or a Democratic Party unity slate will be entered in each congressional district to help ensure that no candidate does get the required 40 percent. There is nothing in this charade that contradicts reform commission regulations, but its effect will be to nullify any popular expression in the primary.

If these seven states produce favorite sons or unity slates in 1972, they could lock up nearly one-third of the 3016 delegate votes at the Democratic convention; they account for nearly two-thirds of the total necessary for nomination. But the seven states are not the end of the story. In Washington, DC delegate Walter Fauntroy is considering running as a favorite son. Hardly had the dust begun to settle around Birch Bayh's withdrawal when soundings were begun on the possibility of an Indiana favorite son effort by the state's other Democratic senator, Vance Hartke. Additionally, the Democrats have 29 governors, some of whom might also decide to keep their options open.

Moreover, unless the presidential dropout-rate goes up, there will be at least six "no contest" states, where serious contenders can be expected to control their home state delegations: Arkansas (27 votes), Rep. Wilbur Mills; Maine (20 votes), Sen. Edmund Muskie; Oklahoma (39 votes), Sen. Fred Harris; South Dakota (17 votes), Sen. George McGovern; Washington (52 votes), Sen. Henry Jackson. Eugene McCarthy has recently taken steps to ensure that Minnesota's 64 votes are not added to this list on behalf of Hubert Humphrey.

With 23 primaries spread over a 15-week period, it would be impossible for each serious Democratic candidate to finance a full-scale, independent campaign in every one. In 1968, Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy between them spent $20 million, and they made major efforts in only seven primaries, only two of which were states with multiple and expensive media markets. If each of the available 23 states were to have a wide-open, multi-candidate primary in 1972, the cost would be astronomical.

But costs can be cut without closing out competition altogether. The candidates might adopt the voluntary spending limits proposed by Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien. Thus far the major stumbling block has been Sen. Muskie, who insists on a rigid state-by-state application of the five cent per voter limit. This would hold McGovern to an expenditure of $13,000 in New Hampshire. All the candidates have agreed to the formula in principle but, lacking the frontrunner's perspective, the others argue for "sensible" ceilings and floors, which would hold costs down but still permit them to make an extra effort where they are far behind.

Political scientists who cherish the "brokering" function of the convention, defend favorite sons and other devices to keep delegates "loose." They make the plausible argument that there has to be some room for bargaining: "If every delegate is pledged and bound," they say, "what's the point of having a convention? We already know the result, so each party could save a lot of time and expense."

The latitude for bargaining can be preserved, however, without denying a large part of the Democratic voters a chance to express an effective choice. Even without favorite sons, no candidate would want to actively campaign in all the primaries. Money aside, demands on the candidate's time would be overwhelming. On May 2, there are five primaries; on June 6, there are four, including two major states, California and New Jersey, a continent apart. All will concede Arkansas to Mills, South Dakota to McGovern, and so forth. In other states, candidates will permit their local supporters to file slates in their behalf, with the understanding that the candidate and his national staff must place higher priorities elsewhere. In the automatic entry primaries (Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oregon, Tennessee, Wisconsin), some candidates may ask to be withdrawn or, failing that, will stay in the race but not campaign strenously.

The important thing is that the presidential candidate retain the option to enter a state or not. No candidate should be forced by state party leaders to forego a primary in which he might demonstrate voter appeal and accumulate delegate strength. The guiding force of the reform movement within the Democratic Party has been the mandate of the 1968 convention calling for "full, meaningful, and timely participation" of all party voters. But when voters have no choice in primaries but a favorite son or an "uncommitted" slate comprised of Grand Pooh-Bahs, participation becomes meaningless.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Play Monopoly

Oil Everywhere

by Peter Barnes

Since the end of the 19th century it has been characteristic of the oil industry to restrain competition through one means or another, the aim being always to administer production and prices so as to maximize profits. John D. Rockefeller did it by driving most of his competitors out of business or buying them out. After Standard Oil was broken up the industry relied on various tacit and formal agreements to divide markets, limit production and keep prices high. One of these was a 1928 "treaty" between Jersey Standard, Royal Dutch-Shell and Anglo-Persian (now British Petroleum) providing that each company would maintain its existing share of the world market, add new facilities only as required by increased consumer demand, and prevent any surplus production in one geographical area from upsetting the price structure in any other area. Such formal cartel agreements were, of course, in violation of the US antitrust laws and eventually were replaced by more devious but equally effective arrangements – for example, the joint ventures and long-term contracts through which the seven major international oil companies (Jersey Standard, Shell, BP, Socony-Mobil, Standard of California, Gulf and Texaco) control production and marketing of almost the entire Middle Eastern output.

Collaboration between theoretical competitors is only one way the oil companies restrict supply and control prices; two others are vertical integration and government intervention. Thus, each major oil company not only pumps out crude but also transports, refines and markets most of what it produces. The effect of such wellhead-to-service-station integration is to allow a much greater retention of earnings (one trick of the American oil companies is to shift as much income as possible to production subsidiaries, where it is sheltered by tax loopholes) and to deter unpredictable behavior (*i.e.*, price-cutting) by independent producers, refiners or marketers. The icing on this cake has been the oil industry's ability to persuade government to do what the industry itself is legally barred from doing: formally restrict the amount of oil that can be produced in or imported into the US. Thus, Texas and Louisiana, which account for three-fourths of the oil produced in the US, allocate the extraction of oil among producers in accordance with market demand, while the federal government maintains an elaborate system of import quotas which prevents cheap international oil from pulling the domestic price down. All these arrangements have worked wondrously to make oil the most profitable industry in the US by far. In the first half of 1971, according to the First National City Bank of New York, the after-tax net income of the major oil companies was nearly $3 billion, more than 20 percent of all industrial profits and almost twice the combined profits of the auto companies.

Until fairly recently, however, there had been a soft spot in this otherwise sturdy structure. The major oil companies had established hegemony over the entire worldwide economy of petroleum, but they lacked the same kind of control over other fuels. It was a significant omission since, to a limited degree, competition and potential competition from natural gas, coal and uranium provide a restraint on the price of oil. Both coal and natural gas can be used, like residual oil, to heat buildings and generate electricity. As the technology improves for converting coal into synthetic oil, coal will become substitutable for oil in a broader spectrum of uses. If by some miracle the internal combustion engine is outlawed or goes out of fashion and we all shift to battery-driven engines, oil will lose its single largest advantage over other fuels.

About ten years ago the oil companies began to deal with these potential sources of competition. Today 20 of the largest oil companies account for 60 percent of American natural gas production and reserve ownership. The oil industry moved into coal. In 1963, Gulf purchased Pittsburgh and Midway Coal. In 1966 the nation's largest coal company, Consolidation, was acquired by the ninth largest oil company, Continental. Since then the list of oil companies branching into coal includes Jersey Standard, Atlantic-Richfield, Sinclair, Standard of Ohio and Occidental. As of 1970, 29 of the top 50 coal companies, accounting for 28 percent of total production, had become oil company subsidiaries, and oil companies were actively scrambling for coal lands (often on Indian reservations) in Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Oklahoma, Illinois, Kentucky and North Dakota.

The pattern has been much the same in uranium, with oil companies now in control of some 45 percent of known reserves. Kerr-McGee alone owns 23 percent of America's uranium milling capacity, with Jersey Standard coming up fast. Gulf is active in uranium exploration, reactor manufacturing, fuel core fabrication and reprocessing of used fuels.

Other major potential sources of energy – oil shale in the Rockies and tar sands in Canada – are likewise

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

falling increasingly into oil company hands. Even geothermal power, produced by underground steam, has caught the eye of the oil industry. Union Oil, Signal, Getty and half a dozen others have been grabbing all available steam sites in the West.

The total picture is one of high concentration in the energy industry. Of the 25 biggest oil companies, according to testimony last year before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, all have positions in natural gas, 18 are in oil shale and uranium, 11 are in coal and seven are in tar sands. Three of the four largest, and six of the ten largest, are in four domestic fuels – oil, gas, coal and uranium.

The consequences are not difficult to foresee: there will be less inter-fuel competition and higher prices, all to the oil companies' benefit and at the public's expense. Since the oil companies' chief concern will be to protect the already inflated price of crude, it is unlikely that synthetic oil from coal will be introduced in any quantity, or at a low price, or that non-fossil sources of energy (*e.g.*, from the sun or hydrogen fusion) will be vigorously pursued. Electric utilities will lose flexibility in choosing among competing generating fuels, and their higher costs will be passed on to consumers, probably under the guise of "paying for a cleaner environment." The same patterns of carefully restricted supply and conveniently divided markets that currently characterize the oil industry will, in all probability, spread to other fuels.

Some of this has already started to happen. In the last two years, for example, coal prices have jumped 70 percent on the average, and more than 100 percent in some localities, though demand and production both rose at about the same five percent rate. Industry spokesmen attribute the price increases to a shortage of rail cars, higher wages and the impact of new mine safety legislation, but these hardly account for the magnitude of the jump. Rural electric cooperatives and public power companies which rely on coal for generating electricity have a different explanation. In their view the spectacular coal price increases can only have come from concerted action by the oil/coal companies; they have asked for a grand jury investigation.

The situation has been much the same in natural gas, the one fuel whose interstate price is federally regulated. Oil/gas companies, including Jersey Standard, Gulf, Texaco, Shell, Sunoco, Mobil and Phillips, have been pressing the Federal Power Commission for enormous gas rate increases on the grounds that current price levels do not provide sufficient incentive for exploration. Figures provided by the companies purport to show that proved natural gas reserves are lagging behind current consumption. But Senator Philip Hart (D, Mich.), Reps. Joe Evins (D, Tenn.), Neal Smith (D, Iowa) and Torbert Macdonald (D, Mass.) and some of the FPC's top staffers are skeptical of industry figures. In their view the alleged drop-off in proved reserves is a result of oil/gas company collusion and statistical juggling, and they have persuaded the Federal Trade Commission to investigate.

The oil companies' plunge into geothermal power exploration has likewise had anticompetitive effects. When a small northern California public power agency sought last year to purchase underground steam from Union Oil and two other companies holding leases in a major hot springs area, the agency was bluntly told that Union had an exclusive contract with Pacific Gas and Electric. Besides exclusivity the contract provided that the price charged PG & E for steam would vary according to the price of fossil and nuclear fuels. Thus, not only would steam not compete in price with other energy sources in northern California, but the public would be denied access to thermal power sites except through two layers of private profit – the oil companies and private utilities.

The trend toward energy monopoly is a logical consequence of government policies, both of commission and of omission. Notable among the latter is the Justice Department's failure to apply the antitrust laws either to the oil companies' joint production and marketing arrangements or to their acquisitions of competing energy sources. Among the many policies that positively encourage fuel monopoly, the most significant are those involving taxes. The oil depletion allowance, non-recoverable drilling-cost write-offs and foreign tax credits make the American oil industry one of the largest welfare recipients in the world. What is not so clearly perceived is where these tax windfalls wind up. They do not go to consumers in the form of lower prices, since prices are propped up artificially by state prorationing and federal import quotas. They go only partially to shareholders in the form of higher profits. Primarily they are retained by the oil companies and plowed back into new ventures. The tax laws, in other words, give the oil companies an enormous cash flow enjoyed by no other industry, and with so much acquisitive capital on hand they cannot help but expand vertically, horizontally and geographically across the globe. The oil import quota system, by contributing mightily to the oil companies' cash flow, has a similar effect.

None of these policies was established deliberately for the purpose of promoting fuel monopoly; usually the rationale was to encourage discovery of domestic reserves that, without added incentives, the oil companies presumably would not bother to look for. But even if it is true that incentives of some sort are needed to expand domestic reserves, the price that is paid, both in terms of money and the bolstering of monopoly, is excessive. It has been calculated that the exclusion of low-cost imports adds about five cents per gallon to the price of gasoline and about $100 a year to the average household's oil heating bill, for a total cost to consumers of $5 to $7 billion annually. Tax

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loopholes and state prorationing cost several billion dollars more. Yet all these subsidies contribute only marginally to the size of proved reserves (a Treasury Department study in 1969 concluded that if the oil depletion allowance were eliminated entirely, proved US oil reserves would drop from a 12-year to an 11-year supply). If Congress were directly asked to appropriate $10 billion each year to buy a small increase in proved oil reserves and concomitantly, to underwrite fuel monopoly, it undoubtedly would have refused to do so. The genius of oil industry politics is that the question is never posed in those terms.

What can be done? In the oil companies' view there is nothing wrong with fuel monopoly; the problem is to condition American consumers to accept higher prices for all forms of energy. President Nixon sees things in much the same light. His energy message last June avoids mention of the trend toward fuel monopoly or of government policies that permit and abet it. He envisions the importation, without quotas, of Canadian crude, but offers no other initiative aimed at keeping energy prices down. Natural gas rates, the President made clear, should be allowed to rise, and consumers should expect to pay more for all clean fuels. Oil and gas leasing on the outer continental shelf will be accelerated, apparently without prohibiting the joint venture arrangements under which the major oil companies now operate off shore. Federal oil shale lands in the Rocky Mountains will be opened up to private enterprise – that is, the oil companies. Mr. Nixon even anticipates that the AFC's uranium enrichment plants will eventually be sold – again, presumably, to the oil industry.

Can the nation's rising demand for energy be satisfied without unduly enriching a few privately owned corporations? Should energy resources which took millions of years to form be surrendered to anti-competitive profit-making, or developed in the public interest? The questions have philosophical as well as practical overtones, but the striking thing is that they are so little debated.

One alternative is simply to restore some competition to the energy industry – by modifying or eliminating state prorationing based on market demand, scuttling the federal import quotas, halting tax subsidies for anti-competitive acquisitions, and dismantling the largest oil companies vertically as well as horizontally, as Beverly Moore of the Center for the Study of Responsive Law has suggested. The ensuing competition between independent, nonintegrated companies at all levels would lower prices and probably force some of the less efficient wells, of which there are many, to shut down.

A second alternative would be to move the public sector actively into the fuel business. This is the approach of almost every other country in the world. There are state-owned or state-backed oil companies in Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada and Spain, and most of the developing nations, as they gain in expertise, are moving toward government participation or nationalization. Only in America does the notion persist that the public should not only refrain from participating in the development of resources that, at one point or another, were publicly owned, but should subsidize the private interests to whom these resources are bequeathed at giveaway prices. That this notion should persist is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that over half of the nation's oil and gas reserves are still located under public lands, as are 80 percent of our oil shale deposits, 40 percent of our coal and uranium, and 60 percent of our geothermal sites. Alaska conservationist Robert Weedon has urged creation of a federally controlled corporation to develop Alaska's vast public oil and gas resources in an ecologically safe and orderly manner. On a broader scale, a federal energy corporation could be established to develop off-shore, shale, geothermal and other energy resources, to assure TVA-type competition as well as environmental caution.

Both these approaches to US energy development – greater private competition and new state participation – would keep down the price not only of energy, but also of petrochemical products such as synthetic fibers, synthetic rubber, paints, fertilizers and plastics, thereby cooling inflation and strengthening our position in world trade. Fuel prices kept low by increased private and public competition would also give the government, rather than a few private corporations, more power to determine how billions of dollars of public wealth should be spent. The government could, if it chose, adjust fuel prices upward with taxes so as to discourage excessive consumption, and direct the revenues raised thusly and by elimination of present tax loopholes toward socially valuable uses.

None of these approaches will appeal to the oil companies, who would have us believe that what is needed is not more competition but more backdoor subsidies, else they will cap their derricks and go home. That seems unlikely, in view of the fact that the oil companies are nowhere near the brink of bankruptcy – profits rose 13 percent in the first half of 1971, according to *Oil and Gas Journal*, considerably more than most workers' wages. Nor is it likely that hostile foreign governments will collectively cut off our entire oil supply for five or ten years – or however long it takes to run us dry. Any fears along those lines could be allayed by having the federal government develop its off-shore resources and hold enough in escrow to provide for emergencies, as Senator William Proxmire (D, Wisc.) has proposed.

Energy needs are rising, but unless intense public pressures are brought to bear quickly, American consumers will needlessly pay billions of dollars annually to the oil industry, reflecting the cost not so much of "clean energy" as of monopoly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on theater

Jesus Crisis

Jesus Christ Superstar (Mark Hellinger Theater) was preceded by an LP sale of three million. (Or was it three billion?) The advance ticket sale for the show is immense, and a film is being planned. Trade talk is that this "rock opera" will make more money, in all versions, than anything ever. And some people say that God is dead.

The New York opening has met with strong protests from different religious groups, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant, each one criticizing the show from its own perspective. Without getting into the specifics of the objections, I think there has been a little over-reaction on their part. Certainly the show will be seen by millions, as it has already been heard by millions, but is it anything more than a *rock* experience? Does it have even as much spiritual effect as, for instance, some of the best Beatles songs? On the basis of what I saw, I would doubt it.

I had never heard a note of the score, by Tim Rice and Andrew Lloyd Webber. I had deliberately not bought the record so that I could go to the show virginal. Here's what happened there. First, I heard a lot of sound. In many huge theaters, sound is amplified to make sure everyone hears everything. At the Mark Hellinger, sound is amplified to put your head in a barrel of decibels. Every performer carries a mike – wrapped with rope to keep it in period! Nevertheless I missed about one-third of the lyrics, which were over-amplified and poorly enunciated.

What I saw wasn't much less confusing. The Christ figure was conventional enough: white gown, long fair hair with a center part, and neat beard. But the Mary Magdalene was apparently just out of *Hair*, the Pilate had been watching Basil Rathbone on late-night TV, and the Judas, who was less the Iscariot than a reincarnation of St. Vitus, revealed himself at last in a sparkling silver jockstrap. They were all surrounded at times by writhing dancers and singers inherited from vintage de Mille.

I recognized versions of various Gospel scenes, including an Elevation of the Cross in which Jesus wore an immense shiny train that would have made Florenz Ziegfeld drool and a Crucifixion in which Jesus was pushed out at us horizontally on a sort of triangular plate. But, as presented, I couldn't connect one scene with another and certainly got no whit of religious intent.

If one *wants* to worry about this show, one could note that, for instance, the high priests, dressed in circus costumes and hanging in a scaffold, chortle about how they're going to make Jesus bleed; or that Jesus kisses the Magdalene. But will this make Jew-baiters or dedeifiers out of millions? Everything, heterodox or otherwise, seems too weak, too ineffectual. How dangerous can a show be when it has only one memorable tune?

The real agony manifested here was not that of Jesus but of Tom O'Horgan, the director, as he struggled to give drama to a story that, in its very being, is undramatic. The whole point of the Passion is that, though Jesus questioned, he did not struggle. As for the décor, Robin Wagner's design had one good idea: the stars over Jerusalem came down in a large Christmas-present box.

My own professional disappointment, differing from the objections of the professional religionists, is that the show fails to live up to its title. Like (apparently) everyone else, when I first heard that title, I thought it was a knockout. I thought that we would get a highly topical version of the Passion in which the modern machineries of celebrity and glamor would be used to show: a) that the Jesus story was a shrewd put-on; or b) that its truth could be brought closer to us through the vocabulary of today's show biz; or c) that the great poem of Jesus' life and death would naturally transcend any attempt to put it down by vulgarization (in both senses). But what did we get? Only a very feeble contemporary oratorio, no more than a termite's attempt to do in today's musical lingo what Bach and Handel did in their way. Not only non-religious but not even fulfilling of its title. The word "superstar" is used in one song, the metaphor never.

Jews, Catholics, Protestants of the world, relax. The religious crisis of our time is not at the Mark Hellinger, only some of the Jesus Generation. I admit that they are sickening. Imagine a lot of people who think that love means licking everyone like a puppy, that true Christian belief will make life *easier*!!! Sometimes one does indeed feel like crying, "Savonarola, where are you now that we need you?" But *Jesus Christ Superstar* will flow on, if only at syrup's pace. Religion and atheism will both survive it.

Michael Meyer, author of the new huge Ibsen biography and translator of several of the plays, has done a translation of *The Master Builder*, now produced by the Roundabout Theater. It deserves better. The Roundabout is an off-Broadway group, starting its sixth year, dedicated (mostly) to revivals of classics. This was my first visit, and all I can testify to is their earnestness.

(continued on page 32)

Films Worth Seeing

Carnal Knowledge. Jules Feiffer draws the US tail-chasing male with some wit, but it's two-dimensional cartooning. Mike Nichols and Jack Nicholson direct and perform well.

Desperate Characters. About today's "forgotten" people, the liberal bourgeoisie. Best film on this list, and best of Shirley MacLaine's career. Frank D. Gilroy wrote and directed.

The Go-Between. Thin story of a boy involved in a doomed love affair. 1900 England is exquisite to look at. Alan Bates OK as the man, Julie Christie NG as the woman. Joseph Losey directed, at the top of his fallible form.

The French Connection. Who says they're not making 'em like they once in a while used to? A real thriller – about drug traffic in Marseilles and New York. Top cast, whiplash direction by William Friedkin.

The Last Picture Show. In Texas, 1951, a small-town youth comes somberly of age. Peter Bogdanovich's second film looks and sounds somewhat familiar but is very nicely done.

Sunday Bloody Sunday. Just makes this list by virtue of Glenda Jackson's performance and Penelope Gilliatt's dialogue. John Schlesinger's film of a London hetero-homo triangle travels a long, seemingly purposeful way to very little.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not The New Journalism

Our Troubled Press
Edited by James Boylan & Alfred Balk

(Little, Brown; $10.00)

Vice President Agnew is not the only monitor of the nation's Press. Many members of the Press are themselves thoroughly committed to self-criticism, and for ten years the *Columbia Journalism Review* has been a place for the critical thoughts of moderate liberals to appear. Sometimes the results have been severe, with very specific accounts of newspaper deceptions and cover-ups (as with the Orangeburg shootings in 1968, or the inflated reports of yippie forces at the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1968), policy and news control (as in Wilmington and San Francisco papers), political favoritism (as in Indiana against McCarthy and Kennedy) and other forms of one-sided reporting. In the words of Elie Abel, who wrote the introduction to this anthology of 50 or so selections from the *Review*, the *Review* "has acquired a worldwide reputation for authority, courage and independence in media criticism."

Maybe so. The editors are certainly determined not to turn out a self-congratulatory trade journal. Furthermore, most of the criticism that dates back more than a year has the flavor of a suggestion box in which the suggestions have already been processed. This does not mean that what the *Review* says immediately breeds reform but that the journalistic community as a whole seems extraordinarily alive to its critics. In an editorial in 1969, for instance, the *Review* editors nominated the following "'institutional' stories as the ten least covered by American journalism: Congress, Department of Defense, the police, the courts, state legislatures, local government, medical care, education, industry, the media." Guessing wildly but as one thoroughly devoted to the game of finding out what game the press is playing at any given moment, I'd have to knock at least five of those off the list for 1971.

But having said this I can't take the next step in praise and say that the reforms proposed are significant. On the contrary the anthology seems to me, a relative outsider, to be in its essentials old hat, and therefore rather depressing testimony to the ideological state of the profession. At least the liberal journalist mind – if the book is a reasonably accurate composite of what that mind thinks – seems to be stuck where it was when I was a schoolboy. For example, it still makes a big thing of not wanting to be hemmed in. By the DuPonts or Uncle Sam. By class or race or special interest. I don't mean to question our abiding American faith in the freedom of the Press, but I do think that intelligent contemporary discussions of that freedom (how to achieve it, and the virtues and dangers of achieving it, if one can) need to include at least some notice of what has happened to the notion of freedom in the Skinnerian, McLuhanized, Procter-and-Gamble Disneyland we have come to inhabit. I see no mention of this little difficulty in the book. *Our Troubled Press* is still back in Jefferson's parlor. No wonder it is troubled.

Immediately related to the freedom issue are the old journalistic war horses of detachment, objectivity, and fairness to all sides. Half the articles in the anthology contain instances of how the Press has been sucked or pushed hither and yon, together with discussions of how to avoid being sucked or pushed. Ben Bagdikian thus proposes what seems to be approaching common practice now (at least in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post)* to "start a new journalistic form: the occasional full page with a skilled journalist writing clearly and fairly six or seven ideas of the most thoughtful experts on solutions of specific public problems . . . [so that the reader might] see a display of all the more interesting alternatives." Very good. But what is missing in his account is any attention to the subtler aspects of being sucked and pushed. As Gerald Grant, the author of the most provocative piece in the book, says: to understand what we are up against we have to understand the "mental habits and attitudes most journalists bring to bear on events." These are what Bagdikian and the other contributors neglect. They assume that one can stand on a street corner or the White House lawn, see the news there objectively, and report on it rationally if only some villain with a sign on his chest saying Owner or Manipulator will leave one alone. This is what is old-fashioned.

Not that the models for this old-fashionedness are to be scorned. Aside from Jefferson and the other ancient heroes, there is A. J. Liebling whose "Wayward Press" column in *The New Yorker* remains one of the best things that ever happened to American journalism. Two years before his death Liebling contributed a book review to the *Review's* first issue (Fall, 1961) in which he ridiculed a journalist author for imagining that he could write objectively (or fully) about his boss. The author, John Chapman, had published a book-length account of his own newspaper, *The New York Daily News*, but had been unable to bring himself to mention that the paper was controlled by the *Chicago Tribune*. The connection is obviously crucial, Chapman's pussyfooting about it was comic, and to all the new-generation admirers of Liebling such a reporter discovery – of Chapman's omissions (for as Liebling put it "the omissions have greater potential interest than the inclusions") – points the way to the beginnings of journalistic wisdom.

It might be added that in this instance Liebling himself pussyfooted a bit about who controlled the *News*, by using double negatives and the like. In any event his influence is strong in the volume at hand; he was a model, usually, of hard-facts reporting, and suspicious of "soft" news: trends, fashions, climates of opinion. Yet it is with these fuzzy but undeniable presences that modern journalism must deal. The critics in this anthology do not want to deal with them.

Exception: an interesting brief piece by Mervin Block on how the Press suddenly went all out for Astrology. How could it be, asks Block, that something "denounced, discredited and declared dead by scientists for centuries" could suddenly be picked up like Miss America by the Press, which by so doing managed to give "respectability to the laughable, reinforce the credibility of the gullible, and earn the gratitude of the culpable?" Answer, from *Time's* managing editor (*Time* did a cover story): "I thought it was an interesting, off-beat subject that had an unusual revival, especially among the young." Answer, from *Look:* "Simply

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because there's been a great deal of interest in astrology, and we decided to look into it." Block notes that both editors deny that they *encouraged* a belief in the "laughable," and then goes on to suggest strongly that they did indeed do just that, and gained sales too. But then, Block walks off from the subject. For him the episodes were – or so he leads us to believe – merely examples of American opportunism, with the editors jumping for the current thing and neglecting the possibility that they would make it more current. Nowhere does Block seem to worry about who is doing what to whom.

My own experience suggests that liberal journalists are mostly bored by, or frightened by, that big question. They are practical people dealing with events day by day. When put around a big table at a think tank and asked about how their activities affect the news they report on, they get sleepy; they have more pressing problems. Why worry about which comes first, the the chicken or the egg?

Or if they do worry about this they seem to be solidly of the opinion that the journalist is not the force that comes first; he is the detached observer, the poor innocent on the police beat. Even John Lear, the science journalist who contributes an interesting piece on how hemmed in by institutional authority science reporting has been until recently, seems to think of the interaction between media and world as one-way, with the media simply sitting there catching the balls thrown at them. He tells us, for example, how E. B. White wrote an ecology "bulletin" for *The New Yorker*, which in turn attracted Rachel Carson and resulted in her writing "Silent Spring" for *The New Yorker*, and he notes that science reporters sat around on their hands while these great events occurred. He then concludes, "Only recently did society as a whole decide Miss Carson was right," with the result that journalists in general then hopped on the bandwagon. This is to say that society's "decision" *started* the bandwagon, or that the vast promotings of ecological copy had nothing to do with that "decision"; the "decision" came first.

Surely this is an oversimplification with miserable consequences, whether applied to ecology or astrology, miserable because it lets the journalist off the hook as a decision *maker*, leaving him only his role as worker in the truth vineyard.

Walter Lippmann has a much gloomier report on how society "decides." In the first piece in the anthology – an interview – he professes not only to be apprehensive about the wisdom of public opinion but to be unsure of how the public arrives at opinion. He presents an amusing contrast to his cocksure interviewer (and to most of the other contributors to the volume) in not being able to assess what his influence as a journalist is or should be. He concludes with a few fine sentiments about how hard it is to know anything, that would have helped the volume immensely if they had been heeded. Indeed Lippmann the cautious analyst stands as a contrast to almost all the forces in contemporary journalism. He is not a hard-facts man but he is not a passionate advocate either.

Only Lippmann, Theodore White and the younger contributor Gerald Grant in this anthology seem to worry about the complexities of the relationship between making and reporting news, and it is therefore only they who can contribute much but platitude to the issues of press freedom. For example, though half the book's contributors are concerned about the journalist being "used" by special interests, none think to turn the thing around and meditate on how the Press "uses" those they say it is used by. In discussions of the White House this blindness is particularly apparent. All the writers are quick to jump on our recent presidents for their proclivities as public relations men for their own causes, but none mentions that journalists have collectively made the White House the news nest it is, and have done so in a way not so different from the way *Time* and *Look* "made" astrology.

There seem to be no honest-to-god New Journalists in the volume, which may explain why the ideal image of the journalist is persistently that of the intelligent men by the side of the road.

A New Journalist, if I understand what a New Journalist is, would not assess journalistic power so humbly, because he *wants* power as a journalist and is consciously out looking about him for a favorable opportunity or place for passionate advocacy. When he finds one he moves in on it for its use value as Norman Mailer moved in on the Pentagon. In other words he is himself a man of special interest, a propagandist, and unlike his liberal colleague he would have no doubt about his advocacy function at the White House. He would go to the White House (if the White House would admit him) for the purpose of finding dirt under the capitalist-imperialist chairs.

But the *Columbia Journalism Review* has not been strong on the New Journalism. The liberal journalist still insists that the journalist's motives should ideally be pure (i.e., devoid of advocacy) except on the editorial page. That notion is a fine notion with a fine history, but it also is a notion that leaves largely unfathomed the large issues of how and where advocacy actually does occur in our media Disneyland. The result is that the liberal discussing the plight of the troubled press trying to *achieve* purity comes out looking a lovely but ineffectual guy.

I suppose a radical journalist reading *Our Troubled Press* will notice immediately how few radicals are to be found in its pages, and will say that journalism has swung much more firmly to advocacy than the volume suggests. I personally would not be happy if this

Changing Address?

In changing address send both old and new addresses to

SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
381 WEST CENTER STREET
MARION, OHIO 43302

Allow three weeks for change to become effective

A Citizen's Guide to Nuclear Power

Ralph E. Lapp's three-part series on the nuclear plant controversy and Mr. Lapp's earlier article "Where Will We Get the Energy?" are now available as a 60-page booklet, including a previously unpublished introduction by the author. Price (incl. postage and handling):

1-9—85 cents per copy
10-50—75 cents
over 50—65 cents

Address orders to:
The New Republic
1244 19th St., NW,
Washington, DC 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were so, yet there is something continually evasive about the apparent liberal alternatives. What is even more depressing is that the ideals of liberal journalism as represented in these pages don't have beans to do with daily practice in all but a half dozen or so of our country's best papers. Except in those few papers the delicate issues of advocacy as opposed to objectivity are strictly highbrow stuff and a newspaper is mostly a place for classified ads.

Reed Whittemore

A General Drift

Drifting
by Stephen Jones
with Illustrations by Richard Brown

(Macmillan; $12.50)

"What are you reading there?"

"Book."

"So I see. *Drifting*, hey? Novel?"

"Strange enough."

"Can't make out the author. Your finger's in the way."

"Stephen Jones."

"Stephen . . . Stephanos. Familiar name. What's it all about?"

"Mystic."

"Ah, one of those. Yes, yes. In Touch with the Beyond."

"Connecticut. From Algonquin: 'Big Tidal River.' Once a whaling port, now a Museum. Also a sewer. The River I mean."

"Why do you talk that way?"

"Why does he write that way about people who talk this way?"

"Perhaps in Mystic. . . ."

"No doubt about it in Mystic. Nor in Dublin wet by the Liffey, where hooves steelyring tinternavvies otherwise by all light."

"Joyce, hey?"

"Prime, at any rate. Juicy and rare. Slice in at most any place, the taste has a bit of the saltspray in it, a tang, like the talk. Bullybeef."

"Jones. . . ."

"Salty himself. A Thoreau-going fellow, but Irish, upon a star most likely. Frequenter of bogs, marshes, and dimly lit bars. Sand *and* malt-liquorish. A drifter on styrofoam streams. Father a famous Irishman: Phil O'Sophical."

"I see."

"I doubt it. A sort of Heming-out-of-the-way. Must read to believe."

"Damn big fat book, anyway."

"All the way. Book of voyeurages deserves some searoom."

"But *so* big. . . ."

"Fit for a giant's pocket, or a sea-anchor for an ocean trip on a walloping window blind. A summersbook. Take the season off. This is seasoning enough. Make a salt of you, laddy-buck (*poking finger into assertive stomach*). Green your brass. Down to hard tack in ships. Yo ho ho. Calendar girls like you never seaed before. Avast.

"Still, such a damned BIG book. . . ."

"Damned big subject: Rivers into the Sea, Sea into the Rain, Rain into the Rivers. Up is back, down is out. Fathers & sons. Old men's stories. Whole fleets swallowed without a trace. Rivers spawn mutabilities, oceans nurture infinities. Man started as a wee grain o' salt."

"Pictures, too?"

"Why not? Revive a fine old custom. Up the pen and ink!"

"Credits?"

"Too numerous to mention: James Scully, Vincent the Bookseller, U.S. Coast Guard, flotation authorities, historians, river freaks, and assorted friends and relations."

"A novel, you said. . . ?"

"The devil I said."

"What, then?"

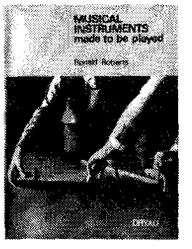
"Ask me no questions, I'll tell you no lies."

"Worth buying?"

"Worth reading."

"Still, it must be *expensive*."

"a landmark assessment"*
Kenneth Keniston
YOUTH AND DISSENT
THE RISE OF A NEW OPPOSITION
One of the leading analysts of social change and the youth rebellion —author of **YOUNG RADICALS: *Notes on Committed Youth*** and **THE UNCOMMITTED: *Alienated Youth in American Society***—offers a penetrating review of a decade of radical youth in this brilliant new book that may well become a classic in the field. $9.95
*Publishers' Weekly
HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVICH

be a music maker maker
"Musical Instruments Made to be Played" tells how to make over 25 instruments, lists materials needed, gives diagrams, patterns. 84 pages, 86 illustrations. $7.45
Making and Playing Bamboo Pipes, $3.40
The Classical Guitar, $8.50


The Dryad Press, Wood-Ridge, N. J. 07075
Please send me:
☐ Musical Instruments Made to be Played, $7.45
☐ Making and Playing Bamboo Pipes, $3.40
☐ The Classical Guitar, $8.50
☐ FREE Dryad Press 42 page catalog
Check enclosed No C.O.D.'s NR
Name
Street
City State Zip
Dryad Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Expansive, rather. Anatomical. Encyclopedic. Attention Northrop Frye and all the fry at sea. . . ."

"If I had my choice. . . ."

"If you don't, this Stephanos will do."

John Seelye

Outside View

America's Empire by Claude Julien translated from the French by Renaud Bruce

(Pantheon; $10)

With the United States in the midst of an extended debate on our role in the world, we badly need outside perspectives on what the American role has been and should be. Unfortunately this volume by the foreign editor of *Le Monde* adds little to the critiques previously presented by the American new left.

More than a third of it is taken up with a history of American expansionism prior to the Second World War. The remainder of the book deals successively with what he calls the "economic, military and culture empires," the role of the CIA, and finally the decline of the empire. Particularly in the economics chapter he seems to be arguing that economics is the sole driving motive of empire. Nowhere does he come to grips with the multiplicity of interests and stands which come to bear on any American foreign policy decision.

In his chapter on the CIA Julien breaks the monotony by presenting an interesting case study of the American intervention in Iran in 1953 to drive Mossadegh from power. He shows clearly the depth of American involvement in this episode, presenting a quite different Mossadegh from that given to the American people by Washington at the time and by Eisenhower in his Memoirs, namely a Mossadegh who was a tool of international communism. Julien paints Mossadegh as a nationalist trying to get Iran a fair share of oil revenues.

Chiefly, *America's Empire* fails to deal with how decisions are made and actions taken by the American government, leading to the omission of perhaps the least understood aspect of American post-war interventionism, the ways in which the military have influenced American policy. The military on the whole have resisted the commitment of American forces at odd places around the world, pleading lack of capability and the need to maintain forces to defend Europe. On the other hand the Joint Chiefs' requirements for bases, overflight rights and allied forces have played a key role in making policy, and that policy has been mostly to keep us committed or extend our commitments. Thus it was the military desire to have unfettered control of the former Japanese Pacific island colonies that led Truman to back away from insistence on Trusteeships for Indochina. Similarly, JCS requirements, accepted by civilian leaders, led to the American base structure in Japan, and to German and Japanese rearmament. The last could be extended indefinitely.

The disappointment that one has with this book comes from the urgency and importance of the topic. What has the United States done in the world? Why? What should we do? How? These questions cry out for national debate in which the critical view of outsiders could be very beneficial. We will not get very far if supporters of past policies emphasize our good intentions and critics bemoan what we have done. Mr. Julien does the latter but he is neither insightful nor persuasive.

Morton H. Halperin

Notable

Tuesday Will Be Different by Henry Beetle Hough

(Dial Press; $8.50)

Henry Beetle Hough is the 75-year-old editor of the *Martha's Vineyard Gazette*, the island's small, native newspaper. He has collected here 51 letters written over the course of the year from one winter to the next, full of reminiscences, homey philosophy, and sharp observations on human nature as it shows itself around his home in Edgartown. The risk in writing such a book, particularly if you're an old man who has lived for 50 years on a small island outside the mainstream of events, is that you may wax sentimental about the past, hostile toward the present. Mr. Hough usually avoids the danger, occasionally halting in mid-reflection to "look fairly and truly from the window of his remaining years." His opinions on big public issues are definite when he provides them, but his emphasis is on the personal and concrete. He is best when describing the wily town gossip, Mrs. Armitage Atwood, conversations with summer hippies, or ways to keep a house warm through a New England winter. As a whole his letters reflect an uncommon sanity: "I don't want to be in the mainstream. The water is muddy, the pollution great, the vision limited, and too many people are trying to swim at once, each hitting another over the head. I suppose what I am getting at principally is what I hope is the small integrity of my point of view. It has to be small, because it is mine. . . . Life's trifles and trifling are not only its sum but its essence."

The Closing Circle by Barry Commoner

(Alfred Knopf; $6.95)

Two or three billion years of natural life cycles start to collapse when man intervenes. The world, whose elements follow a scheme of birth, death and rebirth, suffers a sort of global cancer as man tampers with portions of the environment, forgetting that each part is bound to the whole. He speeds the aging process of lakes and rivers; he pulls elements from the earth, adds energy and converts them to products, then dumps the wastes. It's a monstrous linear distortion of a planet whose patterns "naturally" describe a circle.

Commoner has written a brilliant account of how technological society neglects the simplest of tenets: everything must go somewhere. When the nation "throws out" detergents, vehicle exhausts, industrial wastes, synthetic fibers, toxic metals and plastic six packs, they don't just disappear. They end up some place, and in their nondecay interfere with the environment. Pollution and American dollar-hungry technology go hand in hand. Minicars earn mini-profits, says an automobile industry executive, but profit-making powerful autos pollute much more. Synthetic detergents do what soap does at higher profit, but destroy the waterways. The same property which makes synthetic fibers economically desirable – their resistance to organic decay – makes them

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

incompatible with the environment. Indeed the properties which make all technologies economically successful seem to make them environmental failures. Every polluting good has a hidden price – we end up paying in increased laundry costs in smog-choked cities, in medical costs for respiratory ailments – or in the forfeit of the planet.

Commoner's thesis suggests that mere survival will require a political revolution. Corporation executives who boast what their companies are doing for ecology can't really be serious, because protecting the environment will require restructuring the entire economic system. America must produce goods according to social value, not profit value. The inescapable alternative: massive ecological catastrophes, beginning perhaps in 25 years.

Our Gang
by Philip Roth
(Random House; $5.95)

Here is a Philip Roth quickie, so hot that it failed to make the Random House fall catalogue of coming attractions, yet burst into print overnight for the Xmas trade. It is also a shortie, about 50,000 words for $6.00. It is reminiscent of *Macbird*. *Macbird* was tasteless and dreadful; *Our Gang* is wittier, but also tasteless and dreadful. A competition has been in progress for some time among angry writer-entrepreneurs to determine who can produce the most slanderous accounts of the intelligences in Washington, and with one effortless stride Roth now moves to the head of the pack. He makes no effort to disguise his target, who is President *Trick E. Dixon* (preceded by Lyin' B. Johnson and John F. Charisma), or to moderate his insults. His overriding theme would seem to be that our country's leaders are gross misrepresenters of everything they touch; but his technique for bringing this message itself produces a gross and difficult-to-excuse misrepresentation. If the book receives much notoriety – and presumably it will – it could well have a small boomerang effect and even win Trick E. Dixon a few new votes. If it is a precursor of the political literature to come in the election year, then the year is not going to be noted for rhetorical reserve, modesty or decorum. But then we knew that.

Reconsiderations

The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens

The retrospective expert has all the fun of making decisions without any risks of making mistakes. Basil Liddell Hart, for example, can cheerfully criticize the strategy and tactics of all the generals in the Second World War, secure in the knowledge that his own military genius was never put to the test. And yet we must make judgments about the mistakes of the past if we are to learn anything at all from our heritage. If one returns to the world of Lincoln Steffens, one does so not because one feels superior to Steffens, but because a comparison between his time and our own ought to be instructive.

The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens

Now available from Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: hardback, $12; paperback in 2 volumes, $2.25 and $2.95.

I confess that in plowing through the eight hundred eighty-four pages of his autobiography I conceived an intense dislike for the man. Attractive he may have been in real life; he charmed the great and the lowly. But his own self-image as related to us, presents him, or so it seems to me, as a shallow, meddling, egocentric bumbler, a quintessential wasp who flitted from fashion to fashion without ever acquiring much depth or much conviction. About the only thing he seems to have believed in – other than his own ego – was an extremely simplified version of Christianity which, when he permitted it to operate, succeeded in only making the worst out of a bad situation.

His interference in the famous Los Angeles dynamiting case (in which the *Los Angeles Times* building was dynamited) made things worse for everybody; yet nowhere in his self-satisfied and complacent description of how he arranged a deal between the prosecution and the defense to obtain leniency for the brothers McNamara (a deal on which the judge reneged) is there any indication of the slightest bit of self-doubt or self-questioning on his part. Indeed, one reads the chapters with the distinct impression that Steffens felt that the dynamiting was nothing more than a scheme on the part of Divine Providence to give him the chance to exercise his Christianity and his splendid skills on the witness stand.

As cynical as he was about the corruption of American society, Steffens still saw his own life as a fulfillment of the Horatio Alger myth, and his autobiography is a story of how a rich but honest boy from California could become a wealthy, successful journalist who hobnobbed with the important and the mighty, and who gave advice and accepted confidences from J. P. Morgan, Carranza, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Lenin, Mussolini, Ernest Hemingway, and practically every other important person of his time.

The story is always the same. The Important Person never sees reporters. Steffens brashly enters the Important Person's office. The Important Person promptly becomes warm and friendly and tells Steffens all the things he wants to know, confesses his own sins, pleads with Steffens for forgiveness, and asks his advice as to how he might right his wrongs. Steffens concludes by saying that although the Important Person may have been corrupt, dishonest, and immoral, he was still a good and likable man and really far superior to many of the reformers who tried to replace him.

The naivete of his autobiography is astonishing. Steffens makes no attempts at all to convince us that his version of events is the only version possible. One has to be completely blind to the possibility of criticism to record, as Steffens does, the nature of his relationship with his first wife, fully expecting the reader to accept his own conviction that he was a good and dutiful husband when the image that emerges from the text is of a heartless, ungrateful boor. At least no one can accuse Steffens of vanity; a vain man would try to cover up the warts; Stef-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fens apparently didn't even think they were warts.

Perhaps the most obvious sign of his complacent, Anglo-Saxon narrowness is his complete unawareness of the immigration phenomenon. The most important thing that happened in the United States in the years between the beginning of Steffens' career as a journalist and the First World War was the arrival of millions of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Steffens seemed practically unaware of their existence and though he romanticizes about the Jewish ghetto in New York, he saw no connection between the arrival of Polish and Italian immigrants and the political and social problems of the cities that he muckraked. Many of our criticisms of Steffens as a social analyst are indeed hindsight wisdom, but it is not hindsight to say that anyone who attempted a serious analysis of American cities in the early part of the twentieth century must have been blind if he did not realize the connection between immigration and urban problems.

Yet Steffens saw through the reformers and understood that reform either did not work or, if it did work, became scarcely distinguishable from that which it was attempting to replace. He also realized, as many of the reformers did not, that the "city manager" approach to "good government" would not in fact be a good way to govern American cities, and that there was at least as much corruption in the world of business as in the world of politics.

It is often hard to know what Steffens really believed in. He was against corruption, both political and corporate, and for honesty and integrity; but he was not convinced that either of these admirable qualities was possible in American society. "Muckraking" by its very nature was designed to find fault and to decry fault with a strong sense of moral outrage. But however outraged Steffens was in his muckraking, he seems in his autobiography to be morally detached and even sympathetic to the practitioners. Perhaps he was unable to reconcile his strong ethical sense with his awareness of how much of human behavior is socially determined – a problem which is no more easy to solve in our day than it was in his.

But in addition one is never quite sure whether Steffens had a model of what the good society would look like. Both his outrage and his detachment do not rise above the conventional. Social critics are under no obligation to have an alternative model; but in the absence of some sort of positive vision, the critic runs the risk of appearing shallow to those who try to measure his importance.

Steffens' solution to the problem of political corruption – the merger of the economic and political into one power structure – was one that might indeed have eliminated corruption but at the price of eliminating liberty. His sympathy for the Soviet Russia of Stalin and the Italy of Mussolini in the 1920s was in part based on the assumption that strong revolutionary governments represented the kind of restructuring of society which would make muckraking unnecessary. He can hardly be blamed for not perceiving the possibilities for corruption in revolutionary states since virtually none of his contemporaries did either; but the fact remains that he did not. His famous comment on returning from 1917 revolutionary Russia, "I have seen the future and it works," has lots of irony in it now. What he saw was not the future, but a new version of past tyranny, and one very much doubts that Steffens' successors who think they see the future in China or Cuba or wherever the newest fashionable revolutionary dictatorship may be, are going to be judged any more gently by history than Steffens must be.

There is probably much less political corruption of the variety that Steffens exposed in the United States today than there was in the past. The structure of American society and politics has changed. Ways have been found of regulating both businessmen and politicians. More important, "honest" ways have been found by which politicians can make a good deal of money without violating the law, and probably without violating any ethical code, either. I knew, for example, a prominent ward committeeman in Chicago who owned a florist shop and made himself a tidy sum of money from the shop. No one had ever been pressured into buying his flowers, he never took a dishonest cent, and yet, an extraordinary number of his fellow citizens thought it good business to buy their flowers from him. No harm ever befell those who didn't buy their flowers from him, but no harm surely befell those who did, either.

Corruption, of course, continues. The case of the late secretary of state of Illinois, Paul Powell, proves that boodling can still be as blatant as it was when Steffens was exposing the shame of the cities. However, the real problem of American urban politics is no longer that of dishonesty, but powerlessness. Many American radicals would have us believe that social progress in the cities is obstructed by some sort of mysterious "Establishment." If one can find who the Establishment is and take power away from it, then one could eradicate prejudice and poverty. Would that it were that simple. The obstacle to social progress in the cities is not so much the concentration of power but the diffusion of power, a fact that Steffens dimly perceived. Cities can only be governed when those who are responsible for the governance are able to amass a broad coalition of support from the many economic, social, racial, ethnic and religious groups of a city, and also learn to master the severe legal and financial restrictions placed upon city government.

The mayor of New York or Chicago, for example, must not only assemble a broad coalition of support within the boundaries of his city; he must also be able to bludgeon concessions out of the troglodytes who preside over his city's destiny from the safe distance of Albany or Springfield or, more recently, Washington. The critical question is not whether corruption can be eliminated but whether enough power can be found for city governments to make cities governable, without at the same time eliminating freedom and antagonizing vast segments of the urban population. A dictatorship, such as the Russian and Italian ones which Steffens admired, can for a time force consent out of recalcitrant groups within the population. A democratic leadership must find ways to win consent. In the short run, the authoritarian regime has a much easier time of it, and one has the impression frequently that many of Steffens' successors among the liberal journalistic social critics would very much like to see a dictatorship of philosopher-kings imposed upon American cities so that the desired social reforms (that is to say, those desirable to liberal journalistic critics) could be imposed on an immoral and stupid "middle American" urban population. That is, of course, one solution, and it is a solution that one suspects Lincoln Steffens would approve, though somewhat skeptically. Whether it is a solution that would leave much freedom for all but the philosopher-kings who ran the city is another question, and whether it is a solution that could be imposed for long on a recalcitrant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

population is even more questionable.

What Steffens missed, and I think many of his liberal successors also miss, is the immensely difficult role of the politician in building power coalitions that make even a minimum amount of governance possible in our variegated and legally weak American cities. While he realized that politicians had to deal with many complicated forces, Steffens seemed to think that most of the pressures with which a politician had to cope were the result of immorality, either high or low, in the society. He did not perceive that many of the pressures that affected the behavior of the urban politician were the result, not so much of immorality, but of the complexity and diversity of urban life. In retrospect, what is astonishing about the American cities, either at the turn of the century or at the present, is not that there is corruption but that the cities hold together at all. What is surprising about the disintegration of New York City in the past several years is not the fact of disintegration but rather that it has been so long in coming.

While Steffens was always ready to change his mind and to deepen his understanding, he was not the kind of man who had much tolerance for complexity. Anything that could not be labeled and reduced to rather simple moral propositions escaped him. We may not know much more about the social, psychological, and cultural complexities of urban life now than we did when the first muckraking article appeared in *McClure's* magazine, but we have made some progress. We know, or at least we ought to know, that if all men were totally moral most of the problems of urban society would remain, and that it is not malice nearly as much as social, political, legal, and organizational complexity that turns urban government into a nightmare. Yet, before we too easily dismiss Steffens as a shallow social analyst, we must face the fact that superficial, moralistic analyses and solutions of urban social problems did not end when muckraking went out of fashion. Indeed, when one reads some of the influential books recently written on American urban problems, Lincoln Steffens emerges in comparison as a very sophisticated person.

In the final analysis, the important division is between those who perceive the world as complex and those who see it as simple. Steffens was not a man given to elaborate social analysis but he was still a good enough journalist to be skeptical about all simple solutions, even his own. While he was swept along by the fashions and fads of his time he was shrewd enough to be able occasionally to raise some questions about intellectual fashions. One wonders whether writers of nostalgic reviews in the future will be able to say the same thing about many of us.

Andrew M. Greeley

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ANDREW M. GREELEY *is program director of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.* MORTON H. HALPERIN *is a former deputy assistant secretary of Defense.* JOHN SEELYE *teaches English at the University of Connecticut.*

Correspondence

Pontiac Busing

Sirs:

In a generally accurate account of the antibusing movement in Pontiac, Daniel Zwerdling misstated our editorial position. He said that we were losing subscribers because our editorials "support the (busing) plan." Mr. Zwerdling had access to all our editorials. None of them endorses the busing plan. What they endorse is obedience of a court order, without disruption of the schools. We support integration. We have reservations about busing, but see no choice other than trying it.

Bruce H. McIntyre
Editor, The Pontiac Press

Sirs:

Daniel Zwerdling's article "White Militance in Michigan," Oct. 23, is one-sided, misleading and contains a number of inaccuracies. Pontiac schools were redistricted twelve times since 1954 to keep them segregated and many children, as a result, were not going to the nearest school anyway. White children who live too far to walk to school were being bused in for years, past black schools to white ones. Now, some of the children who are being bused to achieve integration are actually going where they should have been allowed to go all along. The pairing of elementary schools has been worked out so that very few have to be bused "six miles across the city."

Teachers were moved because each elementary school now has a kindergarten and three grades – either 1, 2 and 3 or 4, 5 and 6. The six junior high schools have been converted into two 7th grades, two 8th grades and two 9th grades. No kindergarteners are being bused.

The 10 buses were *burned*, not "blown to bits," on Aug. 30 and not the day before school opened. The burning was not merely "attributed by the FBI to the Klan." Five men have been indicted.

There is also more residential diversity in Pontiac than Mr. Zwerdling thinks. But most importantly, Mr. Zwerdling didn't take the trouble to talk to anyone who really understands and supports the busing program. Nor did he mention groups like Let's Make It Work, or the countless parents who rode buses, calmed rumors, reassured parents, etc. and are still doing it.

Lucy Haessler
Detroit, Michigan

Attica

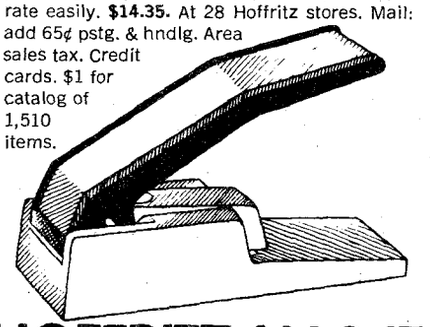
Sirs:

It is so rare that I find myself in strong disagreement with the editorial position of *The New Republic*, that I write this letter with some reluctance. But, I do disagree – with both your note on Attica, and with Mr. Dalglish's letter criticizing it (Oct. 23). Indeed, I respectfully suggest that neither you nor Mr. Dalglish have correctly identified the issues at stake in the Attica tragedy.

Mr. Dalglish's assertion that the in-

STAPLE-LESS STAPLER

Fasten up to 6 bond sheets or 14 onion skins with an almost invisible seam. No staples. No jamming. Only one moving part. Papers separate easily. **$14.35.** At 28 Hoffritz stores. Mail: add 65¢ pstg. & hndlg. Area sales tax. Credit cards. $1 for catalog of 1,510 items.



HOFFRITZ HAS IT
20 Cooper Sq., Dept. NR17, N.Y.C. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mates of Attica are political prisoners is nonsense. To characterize rape, auto theft, burglary, and heroin possession "political" crimes, is a semantic manipulation of remarkable ingenuity. But your analysis of Attica, in terms of the Governor's power – or lack of it – to grant amnesty, is as far off the mark as is Dalglish's.

Forty-two human beings are dead. They are dead because Governor Rockefeller ordered an invasion of the prison by state police, with guns blazing, at a time when his presence – his participation in the negotiations – would, in all probability, have brought about release of the hostages and return of control of the prison to the authorities without loss of life. That is the central fact of the Attica massacre.

But behind that fact is another: that American prisons are brutalizing, dehumanizing, hellish monuments to vengeance and retribution. We pay lip service to rehabilitation as a goal of corrections, but we cannot *really* care very much about rehabilitation, or we would not allow an Attica to exist for another day. Karl Menninger has said: "I suspect that all the crimes committed by all the jailed criminals do not equal in total social damage that of the crimes committed against them." To write about the slaughter at Attica as you and Mr. Dalglish have done, is very nearly to make yourselves accessories after the fact to society's crimes against incarcerated offenders.

Richard C. Allen
Director Law Center
George Washington University

Sirs:
Thinking of the young conducting their 24-hour vigil in front of the White House in all kinds of weather, TRB at least felt uncomfortable under his warm blanket. The events at Attica apparently do not disturb your night's repose under the warm blanket of the white middle class. Your legalistic reply ("Order and Attica", Oct. 23) to Mr. Dalglish's brilliant exposition of the political as well as legal aspects of Attica is characteristic of those who refuse to see (and I'm sure you really do – that's what's *astounding* that the law is not impartial). We do have a "police state" in the ghetto; that's why so many blacks and browns are in jail. If we policed the corporate and financial ghettos with equal vigor, the jails would have an altogether different composition. I suggest you do a study of all those in the white middle class who break the law, yet stay out of jail . . . *legally*.

Isadore Traschen
Troy, N. Y.

Lake Erie vs. Life

Sirs:
In your recent efforts to hasten the "End of Days" you permit Daniel Zwerdling to say, October 9, that Lake Erie "now can't support any life." This morning the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that the Pennsylvania Fish Commission had this week released 95,000 Chinook salmon into various tributary streams, following the release of 35,000 last spring. "If all goes well, they'll feed and mature in deep waters of the lake . . ." Elsewhere I have read of the five Great Lakes that Erie produces the largest commercial fish catch. One does not have to oppose efforts to prevent water pollution in order to ask for a more truthful and balanced presentation.

Val Udell
Glenside, Pa.

In reply. . .
Literally, Lake Erie does support life – especially the planktonic algae which phosphates nourish and which have contributed to the extinction of Lake Erie's most important fish. Lake trout, blue pike, whitefish and northern pike "have essentially disappeared," according to the Interstate Lake Erie Report. You can't buy the walleye; Ohio and Michigan banned them in 1970 for at least three years, because of mercury contamination. There are still many perch. Lake Erie commercial fishing was once a thriving industry; today most fishermen draw unemployment checks or have found new jobs. The Chinook salmon are imported from the West Coast. George Harlow, director of the Environmental Protection Agency's Lake Erie Basin office, says that "the species cannot maintain itself and must be planted each year," for sports fishing. In parts of most of the lake's major tributaries, incidentally, "fish would have a hard time getting by," Harlow says. The Cuyahaga tributary, says the Lake Erie Report, is now a "virtual waste treatment lagoon."

Daniel Zwerdling

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

Gene Feist's direction consisted mostly of tennis-court moves. ("You take this side, he'll be over there; now exchange with him.") These simple ideas of movement paralleled his simplistic thematic concept. Paul Sparer, who has given adequate performances elsewhere, is shrunken by the demands of Solness to various postures, vocal and physical. Jill O'Hara, the Hilde, has a brassy voice with about a four-note range and none of the fresh and very dangerous spirit required.

Still the production was not bad enough to prevent "simultaneous translation". This is an internal device for those who know and like a play, which permits them to see what every moment *ought* to be, to use the immediate performance as a mental scaffolding, if it's at least honest and serious. (Which this is.) So, translating away furiously in my head, I had a fair time at the Roundabout production of the profound autobiographical play, which searches out autobiographies in each of us. Ibsen was himself the architect-hero, and Emilie Bardach, the girl he met in 1889, was the Hilde whom he captured on paper in 1892 – the girl who rejuvenates and ages, vitalizes and figuratively kills, this mature man. It's one of the most "private" of Ibsen's plays and one of the most frightening. And it's so infrequently played that, though I wish the Roundabout had done more of the work for me, I'm grateful for a performance just good enough to let me dream of my own production while this one went on.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personals

BLIZZARD OF '88 ISSUE, Police Gazette, other 19th century magazines packed with lurid stories, pin-ups, other fantastic pictures, ads. Originals cost up to $100. Four complete facsimilies, only $5. BYGONE JOURNALS, 150B East 50th, NYC 10022. 10022.

WELL-EDUCATED MAN seeks well-educated female companionship. Age 30-40. Box 19110, Indianapolis 46219.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TALL, PERSONABLE, sensual yet sensitive professor, early 40's, seeks liberal, lusty lady. Los Angeles area. N.R. Box 5020.

LIKE BEAUTIFUL NAME-IMPRINTED STATIONERY? Send 25¢ (postage-handling) for ideapacked descriptive samples catalog showing social-professional items. Rainbow colors. Many attractive type faces. Jacques Stationery, Wallingford, Vermont 05773.

BEER, like bread, is better homemade. New Homebrew Kit makes it for 2¢ a bottle. Easy step-by-step manual, and Hydrometer for perfect carbonation. $3.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Evinco-C, Box 1432, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

MCCARTHY DAISIES AVAILABLE. Write – McCarthy for President, 107 McColl Building, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101. DONATIONS APPRECIATED.

FAMILY TREE CHARTS – Genealogy Supplies, Books. Free "How To" Catalog. FORMCO, Box 3828-XR, Long Beach, California 90803.

FOR RESEARCH ON STUART DAVIS (1894 – 1964), I would like to hear from those having paintings, drawings, prints, correspondence, or other materials relating to the artist: Robert Hunter, Visiting Research Associate, National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

ALPHAPHONE® headset – brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, California 95460.

TRANSLATIONS, any language. Michael Pilorget, 3915 Foster Street, Flint, Michigan 48505.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception, – AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th St., New York 10016.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKOUT – Perfect prints, 8 or 12-shot rolls, $2; 20-shot rolls, $3; 36-shot rolls, $5. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $$ and film; write for mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Conn. 06355.

MUSKIE '72, bumperstickers 4/$1.00, buttons 5/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista, Bridgeport, Conn. 06604.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.50. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

PENFRIENDS. For free information, write: Papyrus, Box 11604 NE, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27106.

DELIGHTFUL, EDUCATIONAL VACATIONING. Fasting, Reducing, Rejuvenation. Health Education. Peaceful surroundings. Cooperative employment available. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923 – NR.

"FREEZE NIXON" Bumperstickers, 2/$1.00 sent same day, K. Brown, 4300 W. Ford City Drive, Chicago, 60652.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Enclose $5.00 with uncopied, unlined paragraph. *Alice Hays Spangler*, 4119 Davis Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

SLEEP-LEARNING: HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24 – NR, Olympia, Washington.

ALPHA-, THETA-WAVE Biofeedback. Relaxed awareness, mediation, body control. Inner Space Electronics, Box 319NR, Fairfax, Ca., 94930.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. F.F.C. phone 301-652-0536.

"BATTLE" OF ARMAGEDDON NOT BIBLICAL. Brochure mailed free. Crawford Research, Box 42, Sun City, California 92381.

LINDSAY '72; Bumperstickers and Buttons – 3/$1.00; P. O. Box 41162, Sacramento, California 95841.

Peace Personals

PATCHES & APPLIQUE (over 200), POSTERS (over 275, many anti-war), BUTTONS (135), BUMPERSTICKERS (50) and other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

WALK CHEERFULLY over the world, said a founder of Quakerism. Friends Journal does that, serious as it is about peace, equality, prisons, education, environment, brotherly love. Begin your year's subscription ($5.50) with our special November 15 issue. Friends Journal, Box 104, 152-A North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 19102.

Stamps, $1 per sheet. Christmas cards, 15 for $2.75. Sample, and catalog of other items, 50c.

International McClelland, NR, Beverly Hills, Ca. 90210

IM is a non-profit org.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

PEACE CHRISTMAS CARDS, 15/$2.75. Samples 50¢. International McClelland, NR, Beverly Hills, California 90210.

Literature

EXPLORE THE SOUTHWEST with Museum of New Mexico Press. Books on Indian and Spanish Arts and Crafts, Southwestern anthropology, archaelogy and history. Send for free catalogue. Museum of New Mexico Press. Dept. D, P. O. Box 2087, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

NEWS FROM CHINA: Subscribe now: Peking Review weekly airmail $4; Monthlies at $3 each: China Pictorial, China Reconstructs, Chinese Literature. Free catalog: Imported publications in English from China & Vietnam. CHINA BOOKS, 2929 24 St., San Francisco, Cal. 94110.

READ THE GUARDIAN – radical newsweekly for national and international news, an independent slant, and analysis from a Marxist viewpoint. Special ten-week trial subscription: $1.00. Guardian Dept. B, 32 W. 22nd St., New York, N.Y. 10010. (Full year $10., student $5.)

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

1971 (7th Edition) Small Magazine/Press Directory – $2.50/copy; $8.00/4-year subscription. DUST-books, R.2, 5218 Scottwood Road, Paradise, California 95969.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZW 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs. Information Free. Barrett, Dept. C-456-B, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago, 60626.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11011.

WRITERS – "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOP. A Twelve Week Program. For Information Call (212) 543-9259, 9 - 5.

MIQUON SCHOOL – Past Students, Alumni, Parents, Staff – Where are you? Contact: Miquon School Alumni Association, Harts Lane, Miquon, Pennsylvania 19452.

PRIVATE FRENCH LESSONS by Sorbonne educated Parisian. Ten dollars/hour. Call evenings (212) 737-9361.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS – Specializing in difficult cases – undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900

SUMMERHILL ORIENTED SCHOOL-Modified free school approach. All academic classes and activities: English, reading, science, music, drama, math, art, crafts, riding, organic gardening, pottery, camping, animals, etc. Freedom with responsibility-Learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Boarding school (optional weekends at home) 2 hrs. N.Y.C., Ages 6-13. Open Community School, Box 5R, Claverack, New York, 12513 (518) 851-3311.

Foreign Studies

BRIGHT BUT BROKE? Unesco's STUDY ABROAD lists thousands of scholarships – many free – for study/travel worldwide! Free with your order, VACATION STUDY ABROAD, $1.50 value. Send only $5.95 to Dept. R, Unipub, Box 433, NY 10016.

Employment Opportunities

TEACHING POSITIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. 1972-73 Guide contains current information about private and government organizations seeking teachers. General and personal requirements, geographic areas, addresses for application forms. 100-page book including survey of foreign embassies!! Over 20,000 copies in print since 1969. Guaranteed satisfaction. $2.50 plus $.50 postage and handling. Foreign Countries, Box 514-E3 Ames, Iowa 50010.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLDWIDE POSITIONS AVAILABLE. Enjoy high pay, travel allowance, paid overtime...Write: Global Employment, Box 706-JB3, Orinda, California.

AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU – New Australian Handbook describing free passage, employment, business, teaching etc. $1.00. Employment directories: Australian businesses $1.50. U.S. businesses there. $1.50. All three $2.00. (550 employers listed). Buckeye, Box 1032MD. Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $4.00 Infomex, NR 1271, Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-N, Belmont, California 94002.

EUROPEAN – FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT – Detailed report on currently available jobs – Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643 – P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and Summer Jobs. Jobs with Money, Challenge, Opportunity, Travel. All occupations and trades. Write: JOBSCOPE, Box 746, NR, Woodbridge, California 95258.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1972 Government Information and Forms – Most Complete Information Available – $1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

Greenery

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Property-Sale/Rent

LAST CHANCE TO RESTORE on Monument Avenue, Old Bennington – 7 Room Colonial – Sturdy 1½ story barn – 1½ acres.$26,500 Hoisington Realty, Box 87, Bennington, Vermont 05201.

MOON LOT DEEDS, only $2.00, colorful, unique, individual acre lots. Wilbarcorp, Box 902-TN, Cape Canaveral, Florida, 32920.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, The Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; forward looking, integrated communities. Contact The Shaker Communities, 3494 Lee Road, Suite 207, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. (216)751-2155.

Vacations/Travel

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organizations named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE-$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21 JGT Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Gourmet/Cookery

FAMOUS NEW YORK CHEESECAKE. The ultimate dessert. Box 498, Lenox Hill Station, NYC 10021.

DISCOVER UNIQUE DINING GUIDE. In-depth Monthly Report on NYC's most fascinating restaurants. SPECIAL GIFT RATES. $24 yearly. Information Free. Box A, Sea Cliff, New York 11579.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure, Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 19, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

WORLD'S MOST ELEGANT CHOCOLATES – Now available by mail: "Our Famous Assortment." 1 lb. $4.75, 2 lb. $8.50 delivered. Write for our complete brochure on chocolates and gourmet foods. BISSINGER'S, 205 West 4th Street, Dept. NR-116, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes – Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

Arts and Crafts

PERFECT COMPLEMENT FOR TWEEDS, hand woven fabrics: oak leaf pin hand carved native cherry wood. Natural, graceful. $16 ppd. Satisfaction guaranteed. Charis Crafts, Box 1831, Denver 80201. Send for list.

19th CENTURY ART: reproductions of Homer, Remington, Gibson, many others. Catalog 25¢. Golden Age Press, Box 3196, Boulder, Colo. 80303.

1972 CALENDAR – twelve drawings: Nasturtiums, Farm & Sheep, Basket of Mushrooms, $1.75 – Charlotte Purrington Farley, R.D. #5, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

JAPANESE WOODCUT PRINTS. Masterpieces by Sharaku, Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige, etc. New catalogue, fully illustrated with 486 subjects. $6.00. Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints, CPO Box 362, Tokyo, Japan.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25¢. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

APPALACHIAN QUILTS, a quality product, from $25.00 and up. Write Pike County Citizens Association, Box 10, Hellier, Kentucky 41534.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue, 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

WOMEN'S LIB JEWELRY! The Lib-Sym, created by women for women. Fist encircled in female biological symbol. Silver or gold plate; black, red, green or blue enamel highlights. Pendant on chain $3, pin $2.50. Prepaid. Bar-Dot Company, Box 984NR, Hartford, Connecticut 06101.

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Records/Tapes

Unique listening experience. A DRUG ADDICT talks of his life. Available on thirty minute cassette or reel. $5.95 postpaid. Audio Venture, Canaan, New York 12029.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

Music

BACH'S KEYBOARD FINGERING, bowing, etc. Book and Record $5. Box 2552, Los Angeles 90028.

GUITARISTS – Too busy to practice? Five minutes weekly teaches folk strums, barres, melody. Beginner – advanced. Samples 10¢. Steel's, Box 114 San Rafael, California 94902.

KITS: Build dulcimers, guitars, balalaikas, thumb pianos, harps. From $2.95. Finished dulcimers from $19.95. 866 West 13th Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80215.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS—Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc. Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Experience the most relevant play of our time. Free.

Exclusively yours: The Theatre Recording Society invites you to accept this full 2-record album. A $13 value. Absolutely FREE.

"Yes, we violated the law. But the law is no absolute to us. I must say our intention was to destroy the files. But our motive was to illustrate genocide in Vietnam and corruption at home."

"The real issue is: How can we serve both love and war?"

The words of Father Phillip Berrigan give hint to the explosive nature of "The Trial of The Catonsville Nine."

Written by Daniel Berrigan, S.J.

The power. The shock. The relevance. They're all there. There because the play was written by the man who lived the event: Father Daniel Berrigan.

It is The Truth—Performed with power.

Why did nine deeply concerned Americans resort to burning draft records? Were they right? Wrong? How does a conscientious man reconcile moral right and legal wrong?

Involve yourself in the great moral question of our time. Listen again and again to this brilliantly performed piece of modern theatre *recorded live in stereo* and directed by Gordon Davidson.

The cast includes today's best young actors. Their performances are electric. The impact is overwhelming.

Truly, this is the one album every man, woman and child in America must hear if they're at all concerned with the issues of today.

Clive Barnes of *The New York Times* said this about "The Trial of the Catonsville Nine."..."Positively riveting...a new kind of play...wonderfully moving."

Yours FREE: This extraordinary 2-record album (catalogue price: $13.00) is offered free to introduce you to the Theatre Recording Society. The Society brings you exciting full-length productions of the world's great plays—from Shakespeare to Marat/Sade—in performances especially staged and recorded for your home listening enjoyment.

As a member, you'll thrill to performance by Paul Scofield, Julie Harris, Claire Bloom, Sir Laurence Olivier, Lee J. Cobb, Sir John Gielgud, Dame Judith Anderson, Montgomery Clift and others.

You pay special low prices. Although these lavish boxed sets cost non-members far more, you pay only $9.75, $14.10, or $18.50 for two-record, three-record and four-record compatible stereo albums.

Or, if you prefer you may purchase "THE TRIAL OF THE CATONSVILLE NINE" alone for $13.00 without membership in the Theatre Recording Society.

Select any one of these 12 and receive "The Trial of The Catonsville Nine" FREE.

MARAT/SADE *Peter Weiss.* Royal Shakespeare Company presented by David Merrick. TRS 312 3 records.

THE GLASS MENAGERIE *Tennessee Williams.* Montgomery Clift, Julie Harris, Jessica Tandy, David Wayne. TRS 301 2 records

DEATH OF A SALESMAN *Arthur Miller.* Lee J. Cobb, Mildred Dunnock, Dustin Hoffman. TRS 312 3 records.

HAMLET *Shakespeare.* Paul Scofield, Zena Walker, Diana Wynyard, Wilfrid Lawson. SRS 232 4 records.

LONG DAY'S JOURNEY INTO NIGHT *Eugene O'Neill.* Robert Ryan, Stacy Keach, Geraldine Fitzgerald. TRS 350 4 records.

AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE *Henrik Ibsen/Arthur Miller.* Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center. TRS 349 3 records.

LYSISTRATA *Aristophanes.* Hermione Gingold, Stanley Holloway. TRS 313 2 records.

IN THE MATTER OF J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER *Heinar Kipphardt.* Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center. TRS 336 3 records.

ANTIGONE *Sophocles.* Dorothy Tutin, Max Adrian, Jeremy Brett, Eileen Atkins, Geoffrey Dunn. TRS 320 2 records.

JULIUS CAESAR *Shakespeare.* Ralph Richardson, Anthony Quayle, John Mills, Alan Bates. SRS 230 3 records.

SAINT JOAN *Bernard Shaw.* Siobhan McKenna, Donald Pleasence, Felix Aylmer, Robert Stephens. TRS 311 4 records.

MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL *T. S. Eliot.* Paul Scofield, Cyril Cusack, Alec McCowen, Patrick Magee. TRS 330 2 records.

Theatre Recording Society

505 Eighth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10018

Please enroll me as a *trial* member. Send me the 2-record stereo album "The TRIAL OF THE CATONSVILLE NINE" (cat. price: $13.00) free, with my first selection.

As a member, I will be notified in advance of all new Society releases. My only obligation is to take four more stereo albums of my choice over the next two years, at the special members' price of only $9.75 for two-record albums, $14.10 for three-record albums and $18.50 for four-record compatible stereo albums. Shipping and handling is included for your first album. Subsequent albums will require a small fee.

Send me as my first selection:

Enclosed is my payment for _____

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE ZIP

New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.

Please Note: Canadian and foreign prices slightly higher.

☐ I do not wish to join the Theatre Recording Society. Please send me only "THE TRIAL OF CATONSVILLE NINE." I enclose full payment of $13.00.

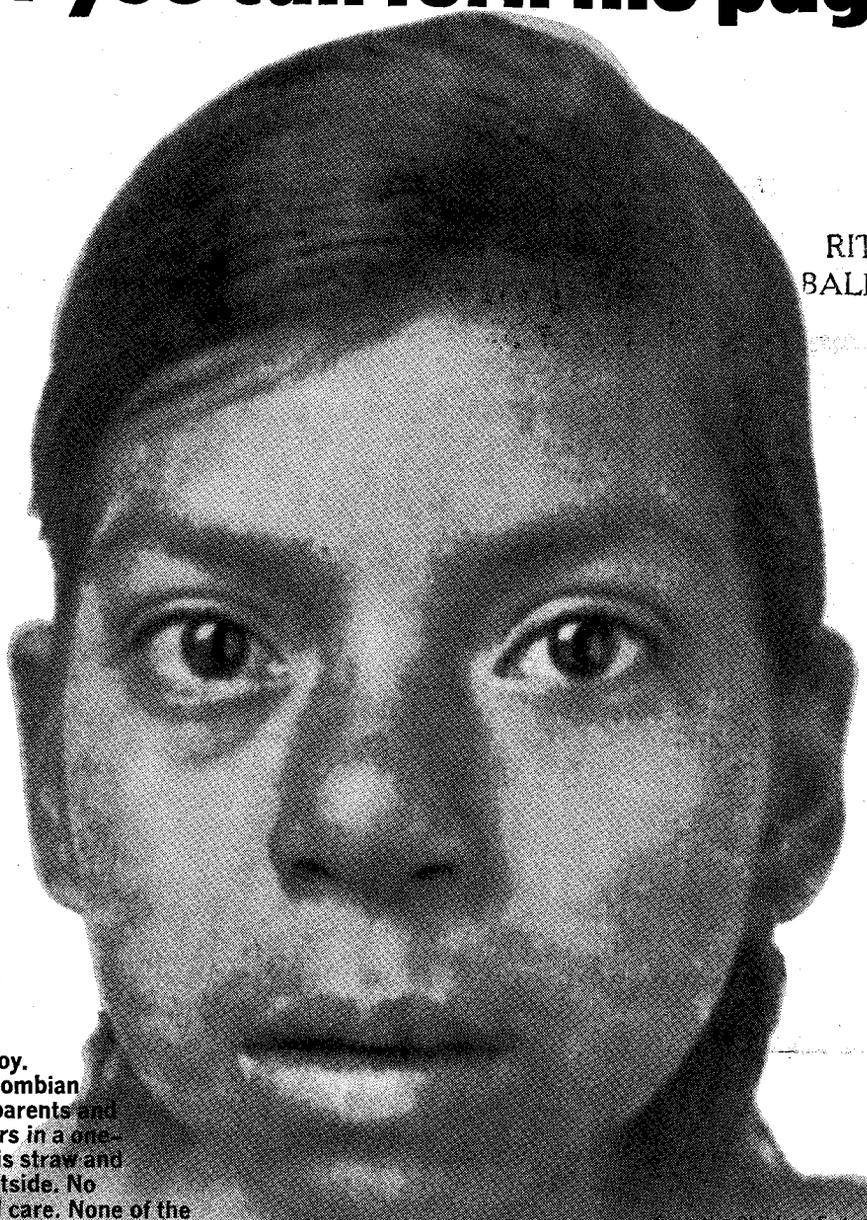
NRP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You can save Luz Marina for $15.00 a month. Or you can turn the page.

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

NOV 5 - 1971



Luz Marina Jacanamijoy.
An eleven year old Colombian child. Living with her parents and five brothers and sisters in a one-room house. The roof is straw and the kitchen is a fire outside. No electricity. No medical care. None of the things so many of us take for granted.

Yet for only $15.00 a month, you can sponsor a child like Luz Marina and really give meaning to those last three letters in her last name—joy. The joy she will know when she learns she can continue her schooling and not have to work in the fields full time. The joy her parents will receive, through an interest-free loan that will enable them to start their own self-help project. Like raising chickens to help raise their standard of living.

That's what Save the Children Federation is all about. Helping people—indeed, helping entire communities—to help themselves.

And for you, there are many rewards. The chance to correspond with a child. To receive his or her photograph. And progress reports. And, knowing too, that your hard earned money is helping one child, one family, one community.

That's how Save the Children works. But without you, it can't work. So please: clip this coupon and mail it today. Now you can turn the page.

Save the Children Federation, founded in 1932, is registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Contributions are income tax deductible.

I wish to contribute $15.00 a month to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl

☐ Where the need is most urgent
☐ American Indian
☐ Appalachia
☐ Africa
☐ Europe
☐ Latin America
☐ Vietnam
☐ India
☐ Middle East
☐ Korea
☐ Southern U.S.

Enclosed is my first payment

☐ $15.00 monthly
☐ $45.00 quarterly
☐ $90.00 semi-annually
☐ $180.00 annually
☐ Instead, enclosed is my contribution of $____
☐ *Please send me more information.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
NORWALK, CONNECTICUT 06852

NR 11/6/1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED